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GEORGE WASHINGTON
BICENTENNIAL EDITION

THE WRITINGS OF GEORGE WASHINGTON

THE Committees of both Houſes of Congreſs, appointed to take order for conducting the ceremonial of the formal reception, &c. of the Preſident of the United States, on Thurſday next, have agreed to the following order thereon, viz.

That General Webb, Colonel Smith, Lieutenant-Colonel Fiſh, Lieut. Col. Franks, Major L'Enfant, Major Bleecker, and Mr. John R. Livingſton, be requeſted to ſerve as Aſſiſtants on the occaſion.

That a chair be placed in the Senate-Chamber for the Preſident of the United States. That a chair be placed in the Senate-Chamber for the Vice-Preſident, to the right of the Preſident's chair; and that the Senators take their ſeats on that ſide of the chamber on which the Vice-Preſident's chair ſhall be placed. That a chair be placed in the Senate-Chamber for the Speaker of the Houſe of Repreſentatives, to the left of the Preſident's chair—and that the Repreſentatives take their ſeats on that ſide of the chamber on which the Speaker's chair ſhall be placed.

That ſeats be provided in the Senate-Chamber ſufficient to accommodate the late Preſident of Congreſs, the Governor of the Weſtern territory, the five perſons being the heads of the three great departments, the Miniſter Plenipotentiary of France, the Encargado de negocios of Spain, the Chaplains of Congreſs, the perſons in the ſuite of the Preſident; and alſo to accommodate the following Public Officers of the State, viz. The Governor, the Lieutenant-Governor, the Chancellor, the Chief Juſtice, and other Judges of the Supreme Court, and the Mayor of the city. That one of the Aſſiſtants wait on theſe gentlemen, and inform them that ſeats are provided for their accommodation, and alſo to ſignify to them that no precedence of ſeats is intended, and that no ſalutation is expected from them on their entrance into, or their departure from the Senate-Chamber.

That the members of both Houſes aſſemble in their reſpective Chambers preciſely at twelve o'clock, and that the Repreſentatives preceded by the Speaker, and attended by their Clerk, and other Officers, proceed to the Senate-Chamber, there to be received by the Vice-Preſident and Senators riſing.

That the Committees attend the Preſident from his reſidence to the Senate-Chamber, and that he be there received by the Vice-Preſident, the Senators and Repreſentatives riſing, and be by the Vice-Preſident conducted to his chair.

That after the Preſident ſhall be ſeated in his Chair, and the Vice-Preſident, Senators and Repreſentatives ſhall be again ſeated, the Vice-Preſident ſhall announce to the Preſident, that the members of both Houſes will attend him to be preſent at his taking the Oath of Office required by the Conſtitution. To the end that the Oath of Office may be adminiſtered to the Preſident in the moſt public manner, and that the greateſt number of the people of the United States, and without diſtinction, may be witneſſes to the ſolemnity, that therefore the Oath be adminiſtered in the outer Gallery adjoining to the Senate Chamber.

That when the Preſident ſhall proceed to the gallery to take the Oath, he be attended by the Vice-Preſident, and be followed by the Chancellor of the State, and paſs through the middle door, that the Senators paſs through the door on the right, and the Repreſentatives, preceded by the Speaker, paſs through the door on the left, and ſuch of the perſons who ſhall have been admitted into the Senate-Chamber, and may be deſirous to go into the gallery, are then alſo to paſs through the door on the right. That when the Preſident ſhall have taken the Oath, and returned into the Senate-Chamber, attended by the Vice-Preſident, and ſhall be ſeated in his chair, that the Senators and the Repreſentatives alſo return into the Senate-Chamber, and that the Vice-Preſident and they reſume their reſpective ſeats.

Both Houſes having reſolved to accompany the Preſident after he ſhall have taken the Oath, to St. Paul's Chapel, to hear divine ſervice, to be performed by the Chaplain of Congreſs, that the following order of proceſſion be obſerved, viz. The door-keeper and meſſenger of the Houſe of Repreſentatives. The Clerk of the Houſe. The Repreſentatives. The Speaker. The Preſident, with the Vice-Preſident at his left hand. The Senators. The Secretary of the Senate. The door-keeper, and meſſenger of the Senate.

That a Pew be reſerved for the Preſident—Vice-Preſident—Speaker of the Houſe of Repreſentatives, and the Committees; and that pews be alſo reſerved ſufficient for the reception of the Senators and Repreſentatives.

That after divine ſervice ſhall be performed, the Preſident be received at the door of the Church, by the Committees, and by them attended in carriages to his reſidence.

That it be intruſted to the Aſſiſtants to take proper precautions for keeping the avenues to the Hall open, and that for that purpoſe, they wait on his Excellency the Governor of this State, and in the name of the Committees requeſt his aid, by an order or recommendation to the Civil Officers, or militia of the city, to attend and ſerve on the occaſion, as he ſhall judge moſt proper.

April 29th, 1789.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEES OF CONGRESS FIXING THE OFFICIAL ORDER OF CEREMONY FOR THE INAUGURATION OF GEORGE WASHINGTON AS FIRST PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

(From the original in the New York Historical Society)

THE WRITINGS OF

George Washington

from the

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THE WRITINGS OF GEORGE WASHINGTON

THE WRITINGS OF GEORGE WASHINGTON

To EDWARD PEMBERTON

Mount Vernon, June 20, 1788.

Sir: I have just received the letter and piece of poetry [1] which you did me the favour to address to me on the 21st. of March last: and take an early opportunity of acknowledging the receipt of them, and of expressing my sense of the sentiments you are pleased to entertain for me. It cannot fail of being agreeable to me, that my conduct (through the difficult scenes in which I have been called to act) should be approved where my person is unknown.

Not arrogating to myself any particular skill in deciding critically on the merits of poetical compositions, you will excuse me for being silent on a subject in which I pretend not to judge and for adverting rather to the friendly wishes you make for myself and Country, than to the style and numbers in wch. they are communicated. You may be assured, Sir, that the good opinion of honest men, friends to freedom and well-wishers to mankind, wherever they may be born or happen to reside, is the only kind of reputation a wise man would ever desire.

Although your observations on ancient Colonization, and the recent Contest between Great Britain and America seem

[1] Pemberton's letter and poem are in the *Washington Papers*.

to be [well] founded: yet it only remains now to profit of our actual situation by a liberal commercial intercourse. In the mean time, your disinterested friendship for this Country will probably be gratified, on the adoption of measures now in contemplation, in finding that it will arrive at a degree of respectability and happiness, to which it has hitherto been a stranger. I am &c.[2]

To NICHOLAS PIKE

Mount Vernon, June 20, 1788.

Sir: I request you will accept my best thanks for your polite letter of Jany. 1st. (which did not get to my hand till yesterday) and also for the copy of your "System of Arithmetic" which you were pleased to present to me. The handsome manner in which that Work is printed and the elegant manner in which it is bound, are pleasing proofs of the progress which the Arts are making in this Country. But I should do violence to my own feelings, if I suppressed an acknowledgment of the belief that that work itself is calculated to be equally useful and honorable to the United States.

It is but right, however, to apprise you, that, diffident of my own decision, the favorable opinion I entertain of your performance is founded rather on the explicit and ample testimonies of gentlemen confessedly possessed of great mathematical knowledge, than on the partial and incompetent attention I have been able to pay to it myself. But I must be permitted to remark that the subject, in my opinion, holds a higher rank in the literary scale than you are disposed to allow. The science of figures, to a certain degree, is not only indispensably requisite in every walk of civilised life; but the investigation of

[2]From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers.*

mathematical truths accustoms the mind to method and correctness in reasoning, and is an employment peculiarly worthy of rational beings. In a clouded state of existence, where so many things appear precarious to the bewildered research, it is here that the rational faculties find a firm foundation to rest upon. From the high ground of mathematical and philosophical demonstration, we are insensibly led to far nobler speculations and sublimer meditations.

I hope and trust that the Work will ultimately prove not less profitable than reputable to yourself. It seems to have been conceded, on all hands, that such a System was much wanted. Its merits being established by the approbation of competent Judges, I flatter myself that the idea of its being an American production, and the first of the kind which has appeared, will induce every patriotic and liberal character to give it all the countenance and patronage in his power. In all events, you may rest assured, that, as no person takes more interest in the encouragement of American Genius, so no one will be more highly gratified with the success of your ingenious, arduous and useful undertaking than he, who has the unfeigned pleasure to subscribe himself. Yrs. etc.[3]

To MRS. ELIZA HARRIOT O'CONNOR

Mount Vernon, June 20, 1788.

Madam: I have received the letter which you did me the favor to write to me on the 17th. instant, and am happy that the acknowledgment of it affords me an occasion of expressing my real satisfaction at the present flourishing state of your Academy[4] and ardent wishes for its future prosperity. Should my

[3] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers.*
[4] For young ladies in Alexandria, Va.

avocations (which have been multiplied by two Journeys I have lately been obliged to make) and my attentions at home (which this busy season of the year will peculiarly demand) permit it to be in any manner convenient, I shall cheerfully attend either at the first or some subsequent exhibition of the Pupils in your Institution: and doubt not of my being highly gratified with their proficiency in useful and elegant accomplishments.

These Madam are the ideas I must have intended to intimate to Mr. O'Connor on his first mentioning the subject to me. If he understood my having no objection to an occasional or casual visitation, as a willingness to become one of the official and stated visitors at the examinations, he must have misconceived my meaning. The reasons are well known, why, at my time of life, under my actual circumstances, and assailed (as I may say) with a multiplicity of applications of different kinds since the termination of the war, I have studiously declined entering into any new engagements which may tend to draw me, in the least degree, from my agricultural and private pursuits.

I thought it necessary to be thus explicit in order to obviate any misapprehensions that might have taken place, and to assure you with how much truth I have the honour, etc.[5]

*To REVEREND JOHN LATHROP

Mount Vernon, June 22, 1788.

Reverend and respected Sir: Your very acceptable favour of the 16th. of May, covering a recent publication of the proceedings of the Humane Society,[6] have, within a few days past, been

[5] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.
[6] Of Massachusetts.

put into my hands. I observe, with singular satisfaction, the cases in which your benevolent Institution has been instrumental in recalling some of our Fellow creatures (as it were) from beyond the gates of Eternity, and has given occasion for the hearts of parents and friends to leap for joy. The provision made for the preservation of ship-wrecked Mariners is also highly estimable in the view of every philanthropic mind and greatly consolatory to that suffering part of the Community. These things will draw upon you the blessings of those, who were nigh to perish. These works of charity and good-will towards men reflect, in my estimation, great lustre upon the authors and presage an æra of still father improvements. How pitiful, in the eye of reason and religion, is that false ambition which desolates the world with fire and sword for the purposes of conquest and fame; when compared to the milder virtues of making our neighbours and our fellow men as happy as their frail conditions and perishable natures will permit *them to be!*

I am happy to find that the proposed general government meets with your approbation as indeed it does with *that* of the most disinterested and discerning men. The Convention of this State is now in session, and I cannot but hope from all the accounts I receive that the Constitution will be adopted by it; though not without considerable opposition. I trust, however, that the commendable example exhibited by the minority in your State will not be without its salutary influence in this. In truth it appears to me that (should the proposed government be generally and harmoniously adopted) it will be a new phenomenon in the political and moral world; and an astonishing victory gained by enlightened reason over brutal force. I have the honor &c.[7]

[7]From a facsimile in a London sales catalogue (1929).

*To JAMES MADISON

Mount Vernon, June 23, 1788.

My dear Sir: Since my last, acknowledging the first letter you did me the favor to write to me after your arrival in Richmond, I have received your subsequent ones of the 13th and 18th instant; which, tho' less favourable than the former, are more pleasing than Suspence.

I will yet hope that the good sense of this Country, maugre all the arts of opposition, will ultimate decide right on the important question now depending before the Convention.

I hear with real concern of your indisposition. At Fredericksburgh (on a visit to my aged and infirm mother) I understood that you intended to proceed immediately from Richmond to New York, when the Convention shall have arisen. Relaxation must have become indispensably necessary for your health, and for that reason I presume to advise you to take a little respite from business and to express a wish that part of the time might be spent under this roof on your journey thither. Moderate exercise, and books occasionally, with the mind unbent, will be your best restoratives. With much truth I can assure you that no one will be happier in your company than your sincere and Affecte. etc.[8]

To CHARLES MORROW

Mount Vernon, June 25, 1788.

Sir: Your letter of the 13th. instant from Shepherds town came duly to hand. In answer to the question you have propounded to me, consequent you add of a report, "that Mr.

[8] From a facsimile of the letter sent, and sold at auction in 1917.

Rumsey left the Service of the President and Directors of the Potomack Company in *disgrace*" I answer the fact is, otherwise; and that his quitting superintendency of the Companies concerns was an act of his own acquiesced in, at his desire by the P. and Directors. I am, etc.[9]

*To MATHEW CAREY

Mount Vernon, June 25, 1788.

Sir: Although I believe "the American Museum" published by you, has met with extensive, I may say, with universal approbation from competent Judges; yet, I am sorry to find by your favor of the 19th. that in a pecuniary view it has not equaled your expectations. A discontinuance of the Publication for want of proper support would, in my judgment, be an impeachment on the Understanding of this Country. For I am of opinion that the Work is not only eminently calculated to disseminate political, agricultural, philosophical and other valuable information; but that it has been uniformly conducted with taste, attention, and propriety. If to these important objects be superadded the more immediate design, of rescuing public Documts. from oblivion: I will venture to pronounce, as my sentiment, that a more useful literary plan has never been undertaken in America, or one more deserving public encouragement. By continuing to prosecute that plan with similar assiduity and discernment the merit of your Museum must ultimately become as well known in some Countries of Europe as on this Continent; and can scarcely fail of procuring an ample compensation for your trouble and expence.

For myself, I entertain an high idea of the utility of periodical Publications: insomuch that I could heartily desire, copies

[9] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

of the Museum and Magazines, as well as common Gazettes, might be spread through every city, town and village in America. I consider such easy vehicles of knowledge, more happily calculated than any other, to preserve the liberty, stimulate the industry and meliorate the morals of an enlightened and free People.

With sincere wishes for the success of your undertaking in particular, and for the prosperity of the Typegraphical Art in general. I am etc.[10]

To CHARLES CARTER

Mount Vernon, June 28, 1788.

Dear Sir: When Mrs. Washington was at the Church in Fredericksburg she perceived the Tomb of her Father the late John Dandridge Esqr. to be much out of sorts and being desirous to have it done up again, will you permit me to request the favour of you to engage a workman to do this, the cost of which I will remit as soon as you shall signify to me that the work is accomplished, and inform me of its amount. I would thank you, My dear Sir, for the ascertainment of this before hand. I have (not inclining to dispute Accounts) felt, in too many instances, the expansion of Tradesmens consciences when no previous agreement has been made ever to put it in their power to charge what they please in future. My best wishes, in which Mrs. Washington joins me, is tendered to Mrs. Carter. With much truth etc.[11]

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[10] From a facsimile of the original kindly furnished by Lea & Febiger, of Philadelphia, Pa.

On June 25 Washington forwarded this letter to Carey in a note, "with liberty for you to make whatsoever use you shall think proper of it. If my opinion would be of any avail with the public, I believe this might be a more eligable mode of communication, than by confining it to a simple and formal Certificate and one which is preferd. by Sir Yr. etc." This letter is in the New York Public Library.

[11] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers.*

To CHARLES COTESWORTH PINCKNEY

Mount Vernon, June 28, 1788.

Dear Sir: I had the pleasure to receive, a day or two ago, your obliging letter of the 24th of last month, in which you advise me of the ratification of the fœderal Constitution by South Carolina. By a more rapid water conveyance, that good news had some few days before arrived at Baltimore, so as to have been very opportunely communicated to the Convention of this State, in session at Richmond. It is with great satisfaction I have it now in my power to inform you that, on the 25th instant, the Delegates of Virginia adopted the Constitution, in toto, by a division of eighty nine in favour of it to seventy nine against it; and that, notwithstanding the majority is so small, yet, in consequence of some conciliatory conduct and recommendatory amendments, a happy acquiescence it is said is likely to terminate the business here in as favorable a manner as could possibly have been expected.

No sooner had the Citizens of Alexandria (who are fœderal to a man) received the intelligence by the Mail last night, than they determined to devote this day to festivity. But their exhilaration was greatly increased, and a much keener zest given to their enjoyment, by the arrival of an Express (two hours before day) with the news that the Convention of New Hampshire had, on the 21st instant, acceded to the new Confederacy by a majority of eleven voices, that is to say, fifty seven to forty six.

Thus the Citizens of Alexandria, when convened, constituted the first public company in America, which had the pleasure of pouring [a] libation to the prosperity of the ten States that had actually adopted the general government. The day itself is memorable for more reasons than one. It was recollected that this day is the Anniversary of the battles of Sullivan's

Island and Monmouth. I have just returned from assisting at the entertainment, and mention these details, unimportant as they are in themselves, the rather because I think we may rationally indulge the pleasing hope that the Union will now be established upon a durable basis, and that Providence seems still disposed to favour the members of it, with unequalled opportunities for political happiness.

From the local situation as well as the other circumstances of North Carolina, I should be truly astonished if that State should withdraw itself from the Union. On the contrary, I flatter myself with *a confident expectation* that more salutary counsels will certainly prevail. At present there is more doubt how the question will be immediately disposed of in New York; for it seems to be understood that there is a majority in the Convention opposed to the adoption of the New fœderal System. Yet it is hardly to be supposed (or rather in my judgment it is irrational to suppose) they will reject a government, which, from an unorganized embryo ready to be stifled with a breath, has now in the maturity of its birth assumed a confirmed bodily existence. Or, to drop the metaphor, the point in debate has, at least, shifted its ground from policy to expediency. The decision of ten States cannot be without its operation. Perhaps the wisest way, in this crisis will be, not to attempt to accept or reject, but to adjourn until the people in some parts of the State can consider the magnitude of the question and of the consequences involved in it, more coolly and deliberately. After New York shall have acted, then only one little State will remain; suffice it to say, *it is universally believed, that the scales are ready to drop from the eyes and the infatuation to be removed from the heart, of Rhode Island.* May this be the case, before that inconsiderate People shall have filled up the measure of iniquity before it shall be too late!

Mrs. Washington and all with us desire their best Compliments may be presented to Mrs. Pinckney and yourself: wishing that mine may also be made acceptable to you both, I am, &c.[12]

To BENJAMIN LINCOLN

Mount Vernon, June 29, 1788.

My dear Sir: I beg you will accept my thanks for the communications handed to me in your letter of the 3d. instant, and my congratulations on the encreasing good dispositions of the Citizens of your State of which the late elections are strongly indicative. No one *can* rejoice more than I do at every step the people of this great Country take to preserve the Union, establish good order and government, and to render the Nation happy at home and respectable abroad. No Country upon Earth ever had it more in its power to attain these blessings than United America. Wondrously strange then, and much to be regretted indeed would it be, were we to neglect the means, and to depart from the road which Providence has pointed us to, so plainly; I cannot believe it will ever come to pass. The great Governor of the Universe has led us too long and too far on the road to happiness and glory, to forsake us in the midst of it. By folly and improper conduct, proceeding from a variety of causes, we may now and then get bewildered; but I hope and trust that there is good sense and virtue enough left to recover the right path before we shall be entirely lost.

You will, before this letter can have reached you, have heard of the Ratification of the new Government by this State. The

[12] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

On June 28 Washington wrote to the Reverend Mr. West, inclosing a letter of introduction to Wakelin Welch for Wests's son, who was going to England to study painting. The letter to Welch, dated June 28 also, speaks of Wests's father as an Episcopalian clergyman of Maryland. Copies of both of these letters are in the "Letter Book" in the *Washington Papers*.

final question without previous amendments was taken the 25th. Ayes, 89. Noes, 79; but something recommendatory, or declaratory of the rights, [accompanied] the ultimate decision. This account and the news of the adoption by New Hampshire arrived in Alexandria nearly about the same time on Friday evening; and, as you will suppose, was cause for great rejoicing among the Inhabitants who have not I believe an Antifederalist among them. Our Accounts from Richmond are, that the debates, through all the different Stages of the business, though [brisk] and animated, have been conducted with great dignity and temper; that the final decision exhibited an awful and solemn scene, and that there is every reason to expect a perfect acquiescence therein by the minority; not only from the declaration of Mr. Henry, the great leader of it, who has signified that though he can never be reconciled to the Constitution in its present form, and shall give it every *constitutional* opposition in his power yet that he will submit to it peaceably, as he thinks every good Citizen ought to do when it is in exercise and that he will both by precept and example inculcate this doctrine to all around him.

There is little doubt entertained here *now* of the ratification of the proposed Constitution by North Carolina; and however great the opposition to it may be in New York the leaders thereof will, I should conceive, consider well the consequences before they reject it. With respect to Rhode Island, the power that governs there has so far baffled all calculation on this question that no man would chuse to hazard an opinion lest he might be suspected of participating in its phrensy. You have every good wish of this family and the sincere regard of your affectionate, &c.[13]

[13] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers.*

To THOMAS NEWTON, JUNIOR

Mount Vernon, July 7, 1788.

Sir: I am in want of a quantity of *good* eighteen Inch shingles and am informed that they will come better and *cheaper* from Norfolk than from the Eastern shore. Be so good, therefore, as to advise me by the first Post after you shall have received, this letter if I can be supplied with 100,000 from the former. In what time, and at what price; delivered at *my landing* distinguishing between what is called bald, and green Cyprus. As my work will soon call for these Shingles I repeat my wish for early advice on this subject. That there may be a clear understanding, the length, breadth, and thickness under which the Shingles shall not be should be specified, among them I shall want about 3000 of Twenty one Inches long. I am etc.

P. S. It runs through my mind, that I have heard of Shingles being had from No. Carolina on good terms.[14]

To GUSTAVUS SCOTT[15]

Mount Vernon, July 15, 1788.

Sir: I am much obliged to you for the two curiousities you were pleased to transmit, as well as for your distinct and ingenious account of them. The facts have been so clearly stated by you, as I believe, to render a farther elucidation or confirmation unnecessary.

It is greatly to be regretted, that we have not in America some general Museum or Cabinet for receiving all the rare

[14] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

[15] Later appointed by Washington one of the Commissioners for the District of Columbia.

Phenomena and unusual productions of nature, which might be collected in this Country: especially as natural History affords, perhaps, a more ample field for investigation here, than in any other part of the world. It is, however, laudible under all abilities to devote some part of their attention to so rational and curious a study.

In the meantime, as I shall take a particular pleasure in letting the Marquis de la Fayette know to whose care he may consider himself indebted for those articles, so I shall ever be happy in demonstrating. With great esteem, etc.[16]

To SAMUEL HOLDEN PARSONS

Mount Vernon, July 15, 1788.

Dear Sir: By some unusual delay in the Post office, I did not receive your kind letter of the 21st. of April untill the 30th. of June; or I should have sooner done myself the pleasure of acknowledging the receipt and of returning my best thanks for your friendly sentiments and wishes. I beg you will be persuaded of the satisfaction I take in hearing from my old military friends and of the interest I feel in their future prosperity. You will then do me the Justice to believe that my ardent desires attend the success and happiness of an establishment, in which the fortunes of so many of that worthy description of Citizens are comprehended.

You will doubtless have heard, before you can receive this letter, that the proposed general Government has been accepted by the Conventions of ten States. The prospect brightens apace, and I flatter myself the interior Settlements will find their interest concur with their inclination in maintaining an intimate connection with the Atlantic States.

[16] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

It is with sincere pleasure I can inform you, that the navigation of the Potomac, so interesting in its consequence to the welfare of your Establishment as well as to the emolument of this Country, is in a fair way of being opened in as short a time and in as beneficial a manner as could have been expected. In order to meet the Directors of the Potomac Company on business, I have lately been obliged to make a visit to the Great falls, the Seneca and the Shenandoah; and, therefore, give you this information from my own knowledge. Indeed, I may venture to conjecture, from the enormous quantity of labour already established by the Legislatures of Virginia and Maryland to obtain the Subscription Money, that, instead of ten years which the Company is allowed for opening the navigation, it will be made passable in little more than half the time. I do not mean, however, but that it will take a considerably longer period (perhaps the ten years) to meliorate and improve the works in the best manner.

As I thought this intelligence might be agreeable to your brother Settlers, I have been the more confident and precise in expressing it according to my observation and Judgment. With sentiments of esteem I am, etc.[17]

To THE SECRETARY FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Mount Vernon, July 18, 1788.

Dear Sir: A few days ago, I had the pleasure to receive your letter from Poughkeepsie; since which I have not obtained any authentic advices of the proceedings of your Convention. The clue you gave me, to penetrate into the principles and wishes of the four classes of men among you who are opposed to the Constitution, has opened a large field for reflection and

[17] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers.*

conjecture. The accession of Ten States must operate forcibly with all the opposition, except the class which is comprehended in your last description. Before this time you will probably have come to some decision. While we are waiting the result with the greatest anxiety, our Printers are not so fortunate as to obtain any papers from the Eastward. Mine which have generally been more regular, have, however, frequently been interrupted for some time past.

It is extremely to be lamented, that a new arrangement in the Post Office, unfavorable to the circulation of intelligence, should have taken place at the instant when the momentous question of a general Government was to come before the People. I have seen no good apology, not even in Mr. Hazard's publication, for deviating from the old custom, of permitting Printers to exchange their Papers by the Mail. That practice was a great public convenience and gratification. If the privilege was not from convention an original right, it had from prescription strong pretensions for continuance, especially at so interesting a period. The interruption in that mode of conveyance, has not only given great concern to the friends of the Constitution, who wished the Public to be possessed of every thing, that might be printed on both sides of the question; but it has afforded its enemies very plausible pretexts for dealing out their scandals, and exciting jealousies by inducing a belief that the suppression of intelligence, at that critical juncture, was a wicked trick of policy, contrived by an Aristocratic Junto. Now, if the Post Master General (with whose character I am unacquainted and therefore would not be understood to form an unfavorable opinion of his motives) has any candid Advisers who conceive that he merits the public employment they ought to counsel him to wipe away the aspersion he has incautiously brought upon a good cause; if he is unworthy of

the Office he holds, it would be well that the ground of a complaint, apparently so general, should be inquired into, and, if [well] founded, redressed through the medium of a better appointment.

It is a matter in my judgment of primary importance that the public mind should be relieved from inquietude on this subject. I know it is said that the irregularity or defect has happened accidentally, in consequence of the contract for transporting the Mail on horseback, instead of having it carried in the *Stages;* but I must confess, I could never account, upon any satisfactory principles, for the inveterate enmity with which the Post Master General is asserted to be actuated against that valuable institution. It has often been understood by wise politicians and enlightened patriots that giving a facility to the means of travelling for Strangers and of intercourse for citizens, was an object of Legislative concern and a circumstance highly beneficial to any country. In England, I am told, they consider the Mail Coaches as a great modern improvement in their Post Office Regulations. I trust we are not too old, or too proud to profit by the experience of others. In this article the materials are amply within our reach. I am taught to imagine that the horses, the vehicles, and the accommodations in America (with very little encouragement,) might in a short period become as good as the same articles are to be found in any Country of Europe. and at the same time, I am sorry to learn that the line of Stages is at present interrupted in some parts of New England and totally discontinued at the Southward.

I mention these suggestions only as my particular thoughts on an Establishment, which I had conceived to be of great importance. Your proximity to the Person in question and connection with the characters in Power, will enable you to decide better than I can on the validity of the allegations; and, in that case, to weigh the expediency of dropping such hints as may

serve to give satisfaction to the Public. With sentiments of the highest consideration &c.

P. S. Since writing the foregoing, I have been favored with your letter which was begun on the 4th and continued till the 8th. and thank you for the information therein contained. Your next will, I hope, announce the ratification by your State without previous amendments.[18]

To PETERSON & TAYLOR

Mount Vernon, July 19, 1788.

Gentn: Your letter of the 14th. came duly to hand as did the other to which there is an allusion. The first time my Nephew comes to Town. I will send you what money I have towards discharging your bill for the Scantling furnished me. I wish it may be recollected, however that you have not been kept longer from the former than I have been from the latter, and that you may be moreover convinced, and sure I am, that my disadvantages arising from the one is at least equal to what yours can be from the other, and with more injurious consequences. Fish too (in Barrels.) which was the fund I allotted for payment, and which if my memory has not failed me it was so intimated at the time, has not yet brought me in Cash but notwithstanding what I have you shall receive as above. I am, etc.[18]

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[18] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

In an undated letter, indorsed by Washington "June —," Jay had written: "The Leaders in opposition seem to have more extensive views than their adherents, and untill the latter perceive that circumstance, they will probably continue combined. The greater number are I believe averse to a vote of Rejection; some would be content with recommendatory amendments; others wish for explanatory ones to settle Constructions which they think doubtful; others would not be satisfied with less than absolute and previous amendments; and I am mistaken if there be not a few, who prefer a separation from the Union to any national Government whatever." On July 8 Jay again wrote: "From what I have just heard the Party begins to divide in their opinions; some insist on *previous* conditional amendments; a greater number will be satisfied with *subsequent* conditional amendments, or in other words they are for ratifying the Constitution on Condition that certain amendments take place within a given Time; these circumstances afford Room for Hope." Both of these letters are in the *Washington Papers*.

To PRESIDENT JOHN LANGDON

Mount Vernon, July 20, 1788.

Dear Sir: I had the satisfaction to receive regularly your favour of the 21st. Ulto, announcing the adoption of the fœderal government by the Convention of New Hampshire. You will already have been informed through the ordinary channels of communication, that the same event took effect in this State a few days afterward. And I am happy to say, that, so far as I have been able to learn, a spirit of harmony and acquiescence obtained among the large and respectable minority, in as great a degree as could possibly have been expected.

If we may calculate upon rectitude in the views, and prudence in the conduct of the leading characters throughout the States, accompanied by industry and honesty in the Mass of the people, we may assuredly anticipate a new æra; and, perhaps, we shall not deceive ourselves by expecting a more happy one than has before appeared on this checkered scene of existence. But we ought not to be too sanguine or to expect that we shall be entirely exempted from the ills which fall to the lot of humanity. With congratulations to your Excellency on your elevation to the Chief Magistracy of your State, and with sentiments of consideration etc.[19]

To CLEMENT BIDDLE

Mount Vernon, July 20, 1788.

Dear Sir: Your favors of the 26th. of May, 13th of June and 7th. instt. are before me; and I believe unacknowledged. The several Articles sent by the Packet came safe, except one of the Wheels belonging to the harrows which was not landed by

[19] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

Captn. Ellwood who dropped them at my landing as he passed by in the Night returning. Whether the omission was in *him* or in putting them on board in Philadelphia I know not.

I am sorry my Herrings are likely to meet so unfavourable a market. If the price should not rise, I could have got what you say those from the head of Elk are selling at, in Alexandria; and am not a little surprized to hear of the deficiency having repacked them (at least ordered them to be so), When they were shipped for Philadelphia.

I beg you will send me 200 wt. of single and 100 wt. of dble refined Sugar of good quality and a gross of Mr. Hairs best bottled Porter if the price of it is not much enhanced by the copius droughts you took of it at the late Procession.

As you have not yet furnished me with my account I know not to what amount I stand indebted to you; and it not being my wish to put you to the smallest inconvenience by advancing money for the purchase of articles for my use I pray you to forward the account that I may draw on the Bank of Philadelphia in your favor.

I beg you would be so obliging as to forward the enclosed letter for General Parsons by the first *safe* conveyance. I am, etc.

P. S. Pray send me by the *Post* 12 yards of Velvet ribbon of the width and quality of the enclosed sample.[20]

To JONATHAN TRUMBULL

Mount Vernon, July 20, 1788.

My dear Trumbull: I have received your favor of the 20th of June and thank you heartily for the confidential information contained in it. The character given of a certain great Personage,[21] who is remarkable for neither forgetting nor forgiving,

[20] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.
[21] King George III.

I believe to be just. What effect the addition of such an extraordinary weight of power and influence as the new Arrangement of the East India affairs gives to one branch of the British Government cannot be certainly foretold; but one thing is certain, that is to say, it will always be wise for America to be prepared for events. Nor can I refrain from indulging the expectation that the time is not very distant, when it shall be more in the power of the United States than it hath hitherto been, to be forearmed as well as forewarned against the evil contingencies of European politics.

You will have perceived from the public Papers, that I was not erroneous in my calculation, that the Constitution would be accepted by the Convention of this State. The Majority, it is true, was small, and the minority respectable in many points of view. But the great part of the minority here, as in most other States, have conducted themselves with great prudence and political moderation; insomuch that we may anticipate a pretty general and harmonious acquiescence. We shall impatiently wait the result from New York and North Carolina. The other State which has not yet acted is nearly out of the question.

As the infamy of the conduct of Rhode Island outgoes all precedent, so the influence of her counsels can be of no prejudice. There is no State or description of men but would blush to be involved in a connection with the Paper-Money Junto of that Anarchy. God grant that the honest men may acquire an ascendency before irrevocable ruin shall confound the innocent with the guilty.

I am happy to hear from Genl. Lincoln and others that affairs are taking a good turn in Massachusetts; but the Triumph of salutary and liberal measures over those of an opposite tendency seems to be as complete in Connecticut as in any other State and affords a particular subject of congratulation. Your

friend Colo. Humphreys informs me, from the wonderful revolution of sentiment in favour of federal measures, and the marvellous change for the better in the elections of your State, that he shall begin to suspect that miracles have not ceased; indeed, for myself, since so much liberality has been displayed in the construction and adoption of the proposed General Government, I am almost disposed to be of the same opinion. Or at least we may, with a kind of grateful and pious exultation, trace the finger of Providence through those dark and mysterious events, which first induced the States to appoint a general Convention and then led them one after another (by such steps as were best calculated to effect the object) into an adoption of the system recommended by that general Convention; thereby, in all human probability, laying a lasting foundation for tranquillity and happiness; when we had but too much reason to fear that confusion and misery were coming rapidly upon us. That the same good Providence may still continue to protect us and prevent us from dashing the cup of national felicity just as it has been lifted to our lips, is the earnest prayer of My Dear Sir, your faithful friend, &c.[22]

To MATHEW CAREY

Mount Vernon, July 21, 1788.

Sir: I have been favored with your letter of the 5th. instant,[23] and shall be happy if mine to which you allude, may have any operation in favour of your literary undertaking.

If I had more leisure, I should most willingly give you any such communications (that might be within my reach) as would serve to keep up the reputation of your Museum. At

[22] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.
[23] Not now found in the *Washington Papers*.

present, occupied as I am with my agriculture and correspondencies, I can promise little. Perhaps some Gentleman connected with me may make some selections from my repositories: and I beg you will be persuaded that I can have no reluctance to permit anything to be communicated that might tend to establish truth, extend knowledge, excite and promote happiness among mankind. With unremitting wishes for your success. I am, etc.

To NATHANIEL GORHAM

Mount Vernon, July 21, 1788.

Sir: I received your congratulatory letter of the 5th. instant by the last Mail. It gives me reciprocal satisfaction to find that the adoption of the Constitution by Virginia has difused so general a Joy through the other States. The good disposition manifested by the Citizens of your Commonwealth excites also a flattering and consolatory reflection in all who wish well to the Fœderal interest and the glory of the American Nation. Much happiness may rationally be anticipated from the encreasing prevalence of industry and frugality, invigorated and encouraged by the operation of a free yet efficient general Government.

Although I am passing rapidly into the *Vale of Years,* where the genial warmth of youth that fires its votary with a generous enthusiasm becomes extinct and where the cheerlessness[24] of the prospect often infects the animal spirits with a similar contagion; yet I trust there are few who rejoice more fervently in the expectation that the beams of prosperity will break in upon a Country, which has ever engaged my most disinterested wishes and fondest hopes. And although I shall not live

[24] The printed text, kindly furnished by Frederick S. Peck, of Providence, R. I., has "cheerfulness."

to see but a small portion of the happy effects, which I am confident this system will produce for my Country; yet the precious idea of its prosperity will not only be a consolation amidst the encreasing infirmities of nature and the growing love of retirement, but it will tend to sooth the mind in the inevitable hour of seperation from terrestrial objects.

With earnest prayers that you and all the worthy Patriots of America may long enjoy uninterrupted felicity under the New Government, I have the honor etc.[25]

To SAMUEL HANSON

Mount Vernon, July 26, 1788.

Sir: The letter which you was pleased to write to me on the 21st. instant did not get to my hands in time to attend the meeting of the Trustees of Alexandria Academy. It is not *always* that I send to the Post Office on Post days. But on Monday last I directed a white man who lives with me, and who *said* he had business at Court to call for my letters in the evening. That, however which was infinitely more agreeable, and equally injurious to himself allowed him no time to think of Post Office or letters and accordingly he came home, without the latter.

The want of Arithmatical and Mathematical instructor at this Academy is in my Judgment, a very great defect in the

[25] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers.*

The following note is found in Washington's summary of work done on the Mount Vernon farms in 1788, under July 23: "From the experience of this years Harvest, I am of opinion that Reaping of Wheat, if the Negros could be once instructed, would be *nearly* if not quite as expeditious a method of getting *down* a harvest as cutting with a Scythe and Cradle; and less wasteful and more convenient for Stacking and threshing by grt. odds. I am also clearly of opinion that instead of Shocking grain in the Field, and then to have it to transport to the Barn that it [is] best to do this at once; little, if any more time is required for the accomplishment of it in the first instance and much saved on the whole besides avoiding the risques which grain is subject to in the field and depriving for a considerable length of time one's stock from reaping the benefit of the shattered grain and pasturage."

Institution. To find boys who have been Six or seven years at the Classics *entirely* unacquainted with those parts of literature which are to fit them for the *ordinary* purposes of life, incapable of writing legibly; and *altogether* ignorant in accts. does not in the smallest degree, comport with my ideas of useful and essential education. Of this, I have already informed Mr. McWher; and shall feel myself under the necessity of withdrawing my Nephews from the Academy unless some change in this respect takes place, and that in a short time. With esteem and regard I am, etc.[26]

To ROBERT TOWNSEND HOOE

Mount Vernon, July 28, 1788.

Dear Sir: Having had but very little agency in the management of Colo. Thomas Colvills Affairs, but (after my return from public life and the death of Mr. John West) being very desirous of getting them settled; I applied to Mr. Thomas West for such Papers as were in his possession which (unfortunately are very difficient and unsatisfactory) and more than a year ago placed them with such as, I had myself in the hands of Mr. Keith to make a final Statement for the Court. The incompetency of the Papers had from Mr. West I presume the cause why it has not been done ere this. From him you may, possibly, get some information, from me till the Papers are returned it is impracticable for want of documents to refer to. I am, etc.[26]

[26] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

On July 28 Washington wrote the following permit for Robert Hanson Harrison: "The bearer hereof, the Honble. Judge Harrison of Maryland, is hereby authorized to take possession of Houses and lotts in the Town of Bath in the County of Berkeley, and to have the Free and uninterrupted use of them during his stay at that place who ever may have them in care or occupation is requested to surrender them accordingly." A copy of this letter is in the "Letter Book" in the *Washington Papers*.

To NOAH WEBSTER

Mount Vernon, July 31, 1788.

Sir: I duly received your letter of the 14th. instant, and can only answer very *briefly,* and generally from *memory:* that a combined operation of the land and naval forces of France in America, for the year 1781, was preconcerted the year before: that the point of attack was not absolutely agreed upon, because it would be easy for the Count de Grasse, in good time before his departure from the West Indies, to give notice by Express, at what place he could most conveniently first touch to receive advice, because it could not be foreknown where the enemy would be most susceptible of impression; and because we (having the command of the water with sufficient means of conveyance) could transport ourselves to any spot with the greatest celerity: that it was determined by me (nearly twelve months beforehand) at all hazards to give out and cause it to be believed by the highest military as well as civil Officers that New York was the destined place of attack, for the important purpose of inducing the Eastern and Middle States to make greater exertions in furnishing specific supplies than they otherwise would have done, as well as for the interesting purpose of rendering the enemy less prepared elsewhere: that, by these means and these alone, artillery, Boats, Stores and Provisions were in seasonable preparation to move with the utmost rapidity to any part of the Continent; for the difficulty consisted more in providing, than knowing how to apply the military apparatus: that before the arrival of the Count de Grasse it was the fixed determination *to strike the enemy in the most vulnerable quarter* so as to ensure success with moral certainty, as our affairs were then in the most ruinous train imaginable: that New York was thought to be beyond our effort and consequently the only

hesitation that remained was between an attack upon the British army in Virginia or that in Charleston: and finally that (by the intervention of several communications and some incidents which cannot be Detailed in a letter; and wch. were *altogether unknown* to the late Quartermaster General of the Army,[27] who was informed of nothing but what related to the immediate duties of his own department) the hostile Post in Virginia, from being a *provisional and strongly expected* became the *definitive and certain object* of the Campaign. I only add, that it never was in contemplation to attack New York, unless the Garrison should first have been so far disgarnished to carry on the southern operations, as to render our success in the siege of that place as infallible as any future military event can ever be made.[28] For I repeat it, and dwell upon it again and again, some splendid advantage (whether upon a larger or smaller scale was almost immaterial) was so essentially necessary to revive the expiring hopes and languid exertions of the Country, at the crisis in question, that I never would have consented to embark in any enterprize; wherein, from the most rational plan and accurate calculations, the favourable issue should not have appeared as clear to my view, as a ray of light. The failure of an attempt agst. the Posts of the enemy, could, in no other possible situation during the war, have been so fatal to our cause.

That much trouble was taken and finesse used to misguide and bewilder Sir Henry Clinton in regard to the real object, by fictitious communications, as well as by making a deceptive provision of Ovens, Forage and Boats in his Neighborhood, is

[27] Timothy Pickering.

[28] Webster had written (July 14): "The late Quarter Master General has assured me that a combined attack was intended to be made upon New York, and that the arrival of the French fleet in the Bay of Chesapeak was unexpected, and changed the plan of operations." Webster's letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

certain. Nor were less pains taken to deceive our own Army; for I had always conceived, when the imposition did not completely take place at home, it could never sufficiently succeed abroad.

Your desire of obtaining truth is very laudable, I wish I had more leizure to gratify it: as I am equally solicitous the undisguised verity should be known. Many circumstances will unavoidably be misconceived and misrepresented. Notwithstanding most of the Papers which may properly be deemed official are preserved; yet the knowledge of innumerable things, of a more delicate and secret nature, is confined to the perishable remembrance of some few of the present generation. With esteem I am. [M. L.]

To JAMES McHENRY

Mount Vernon, July 31, 1788.

Dear Sir: In reply to your recent favour, which has been duly received, I can only observe, that, as I never go from home except when I am obliged by necessary avocations, and as I meddle as little as possible with politics that my interference may not give occasion for impertinent imputations, so I am less likely than almost any person to have been informed of the circumstance to which you allude.[29] That some of the leading characters among the Opponents of the proposed government have not laid aside their ideas of obtaining great and essential changes, through a constitutional opposition (as they term it) may be collected from their public speeches. That others will use more secret and perhaps insidious means to prevent its organization, may be presumed from their previous conduct

[29] McHenry had written (July 27): "It is whispered here that some leading characters among you have by no means dropped their resentment to the new constitution, but have determined on some secret plan to suspend the proper organization of the government or to defeat it altogether." McHenry's letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

on the subject. In addition to this probability, the casual information received from Visitants at my house, would lead me to expect that a considerable effort will be made to procure the election of Antifederalists to the first Congress; in order to bring the subject immediately before the State legislatures, to open an extensive correspondence between the minorities for obtaining alterations, and in short to undo all that has been done.

It is reported that a respectable Neighbour of mine has said, the Constitution cannot be carried into execution, without great amendments. But I will freely do the opposition with us the justice to declare, that I have heard of no cabals or canvassings respecting the elections. It is said to be otherwise on your side of the river. By letters from the eastern States I am induced to believe the Minorities have acquiesced not only with a good grace, but also with a serious design to give the government a fair chance to discover its operation by being carried into effect. I hope and trust that the same liberal disposition prevails with a large proportion of the same description of men in this State. Still, I think there will be great reason, for those who are well-affected to the government, to use their utmost exertions that the worthiest Citizens may be appointed to the two houses of the first Congress and where State Elections take place previous to this choice that the same principle [may] govern in these also. For much will doubtless depend on their prudence in conducting business at the beginning; and reconciling discordant dispositions to a reasonable acquiescence with candid and honest measures. At the same time it will be a point of no common delicacy to make provision for effecting such explanations and amendments as might be really proper and generally satisfactory; without producing or at least fostering such a spirit of innovation as will overturn the whole system.

I earnestly pray that the Omnipotent Being who has not deserted the cause of America in the hour of its extremest hazard, will never yield so fair a heritage of freedom a prey to *Anarchy* or *Despotism*. With sentiments of real regard, &c.[30]

To THOMAS NEWTON, JUNIOR

Mount Vernon, August 1, 1788.

Sir: Your letters of the 14th. and 17 Ulto. came duly to hand, as did the sample of Shingles by Captn. Slocum. I did not conceive that under the present dearth of Cash that the price of this article would have been so high as you mentioned.

Capt. Slocum, with whom I have conversed on this subject, thinks as you do, that Juniper Shingles would answer my purpose as well as any other would, and suggested farther, the propriety (their covering being intended for a Barn) of making it of 3 feet shingles instead of 18 Inches which (according to his account) are of sufficient thickness and run from 7 to 10 Inches broad; suppose 8 Inches on an average, the price he says is 7 or 8 Dollars pr. M, but whether he meant delivered here, or that it was the price at the place of Exportation it did not *at the time* occur to me to ask him. If the former, and he is right as to the width &c. tho' the original cost of them would amount to about the same as 18 Inch shingles, yet as I should save in the Articles of Nails, laths &c. they would be preferable.

Under this statement, if you could send me 25,000, the money (except for the freight which I would pay on delivery) to be paid in 3 or 4 Months (which is as soon as I could Raise it from my Wheat or Barley) I should be very glad to have them forwarded to me without delay; and shall depend on your doing the whole on the best terms for me; pray let me hear from you

[30] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

immediately as the Walls of my building will soon require a Roof. If these cannot be had or do not come up to Captn. Slocums description, I must in that case request you to send me 100,000 18 Inch Shingles (if to be had on the above credit) of Juniper, agreeably to your own account of them. I am, etc.[31]

*To JAMES GIBBONS

Mount Vernon, August 1, 1788.

Sir: I received your letter of the 16th. Ulto., and can only advise you (respecting the subject to which it refers) that, upon a recurrence to the General Orders, I find your Brevet promotion announced to the Army in the words of the Resolve of Congress; and, that, by farther researches among the memorandums of resignations, I can discover nothing more on the Subject. What was the understanding at the time when you resigned your Regimental Commission, I cannot, at this distant period, undertake to say: but I do not think it was absolutely necessary that the resignation of a Commission in the line should have involved the resignation of one held by the same person, by Brevet.[32] Congress or their Commissioner for settling the accounts of the Army must be the discretionary Judges of right and propriety, in these intricate cases.

Your conjecture is but too well founded, that the applications to me on similar questions are extremely numerous and perplexing. Whensoever I am possessed of data which can be of any avail in settling disputes, I submit to the trouble with the less reluctance, as I am ever desirous justice should be done. With due regard I am, etc.[33]

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[31] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

[32] Gibbons had been a lieutenant in the Sixth Pennsylvania Regiment, and brevetted a captain by Congress for gallantry in the storming of Stony Point.

[33] From a photostat of the original in Duke University.

*To GEORGE GILPIN AND JOHN FITZGERALD

Mount Vernon, August 2, 1788.

Gentn.: As Monday next is the day on which the Directors, by the Constitution of the Company, are to make their report; and it has generally fallen to the lott of those on the Virginia side of the river to do this; I beg that you would from the minutes to which you are accessable, or from memory, bring forward the occurences which may be proper to report at the General Meeting, about to be held. If this be delayed untill the day, there may be omissions which *might* involve censure, at least incur the charge of inattention. I will be in Town by 10 O'clock on Monday. The Treasurer should have his accts. ready for exhibition. I am etc. [H.L.]

To JAMES MADISON

Mount Vernon, August 3, 1788.

My dear Sir: Your favors of the 21st and 27th of last month came duly to hand. The last, contained the pleasing, and I may add (tho' I could not reconcile it to any ideas I entertained of common policy) unexpected account of the unconditional ratification of the Constitution by the State of New York. That No. Carolina will hesitate long in its choice I can scarcely believe; but what Rhode Island will do is more difficult to say, though not worth a conjecture; as the conduct of the Majority there has, hitherto, baffled all calculation.

The place proper for the New Congress to meet at, will unquestionably, undergo (if it has not already done it) much investigation; but there are certain things which are so self evident in their nature as to speak for themselves. this, possibly, may be one; where the true point lays I will not undertake to

decide, but there can be no hesitation I conceive in pronouncing one thing, that in all Societies, if the bond or cement is strong and interesting enough to hold the body together, the several parts should submit to the inconveniences for the benefits which they derive from the conveniences of the compact.

We have nothing in these parts worth communicating. Towards New York we look for whatever is interesting, untill the States begin to act under the New form, which will be an important epoch in the annals of this Country. With sentiments of sincere friendship etc.[34]

To THOMAS NELSON

Mount Vernon, August 3, 1788.

My dear Sir: Your letter of the 17th. Ulto came duly to hand and could I have been of any service in the affair, to which it refers, no apology would have been necessary for requesting it. I have no white ditcher with me at present but a Dutch redemptioner. Nor has there *ever* lived with me one, to the best of my recollection, of the name of Clarke. *Last year* I employed a man who called himself James Lawson. He worked for me about nine Months as a Ditcher and left my employment in very bad health in the month of September since which I have not heard from him. Two or three years before that one William Shilling died in my Service as a Ditcher; these are all the white persons I have employed in that way since my return to private life.

Far, very far indeed was it from my intention to embarrass you by the letter which enclosed the proceedings of the Genl. Convention, and still farther was it from my wish that the communication should be received in any other light than as an

[34] From the printed text in the sales catalogue of the *Washington-Madison Papers* (McGuire Collection, 1892).

instance of my attention and Friendship. I was well aware that the adoption or rejection of the Constitution would, as it ought to be, decided upon according to its merits and agreeably to the circumstances to which our public affairs had arriven. That all questions of this kind are, ever will, and perhaps ought to be (to accomplish the designs of infinite wisdom) viewed through different mediums by different men is as certain as that they have existence, all that can be expected in such cases therefore is charity, mutual forbearance and acquiescence in the Genl. voice; which, though it may be wrong is presumably right.

Mrs. Washington unites with me in every good wish for Mrs. Nelson, yourself and family, and with sentiments of the highest esteem etc.[35]

To THE SECRETARY FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Mount Vernon, August 3, 1788.

Dear Sir: The letters which you did me the favor of writing to me on the 17th. and 23d of last month from Poughkeepsie came duly to hand, and claim my particular acknowledgments. With peculiar pleasure, I now congratulate you on the success of your labours to obtain an unconditional ratification of the proposed Constitution in the Convention of your State; the acct. of which was brought to us by the Mail of yesterday.

Although I could scarcely conceive it possible, after ten States had adopted the Constitution that New York, separated as it is from the other three and peculiarly divided in sentiments as it is, would withdraw from the Union, yet considering the great majority, which appeared to cling together in the Convention and the decided temper of the leaders, I did not I confess, see the means by which it was to be avoided. The exertion of those, who were able to effect this great work, must have

[35] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

been equally arduous and meritorious. It is to be hoped that the State of North Carolina will not spend much time in deciding upon it; but as to Rhode Island its conduct has so far baffled all calculation that few are disposed to hazard a conjecture thereon. With sentiments of sincere esteem, &c.[36]

To CLEMENT BIDDLE

Mount Vernon, August 4, 1788.

Dear Sir: Your letter of the 30th. Ulto. came to my hands by the last mail.

Let me request that those articles which you propose to send me by Captn. Ellwood may be accompanied by 200 lbs. of *Sheet* Iron from the Trenton Works (proper for plating the Mould boards of Plows), and a Jarr of best Spirma ceti Oil for House Lamps. That is a clear fine Oil which does not foul them. The Velvet Ribbon came safe and was just the kind I wanted, and for your care in forwarding it so expeditiously I beg you to accept my thanks.

As the price of Porter according to your Account has not been enhanced and is good in quality, I beg, if this letter gets to hand in time, that you would add another gross to the one ordered in my former letter.

I want a pump for a well on a farm yard which is 13½ feet deep; how much it will require to be above the ground I certainly, know not, but say six feet, no cap is necessary because it will be under cover. What would such an one, made fit for use cost in Philadelphia and what would [be] the freight of it round? Your answer will determine whether I shall import one from that place or get one made in Alexandria where the price asked is, I think, unreasonable. I am, etc.[36]

[36] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers.*

To DOCTOR JAMES CRAIK

Mount Vernon, August 4, 1788.

Dear Sir: With this letter you will receive the Horse I promised you; And which I now beg your acceptance of. He is not in such good order as I could wish, but as good as my means would place him.

I also send you Thirty pounds Cash for one years allowance for the Schooling of your Son G.W.[37] I wish it was in my power to send the like sum for the other year, which is now about, or near due; and that could discharge your account for attendance and ministrens to the Sick of my family; but it really is not; for with much truth I can say, I never felt the want of money so sensibly since I was a boy of 15 years old as I have done for the last 12 months and probably shall do for 12 Months more to come. Sincerely and affectly. etc.[38]

To SAMUEL HANSON

Mount Vernon, August 6, 1788.

Sir: On my return home last night I found my Nephew Lawrence here, who said he was afraid to remain at your house, and offered to show me some bruises he had received. Being prepared for it, I was going this morning to correct him; but he begged so earnestly and promised so faithfully that there should be no cause of complaint against him for the future that I have suspended the Punishment.

The letter which I have written to his Brother on the subject, is under this cover and open for your perusal. He is arrived at such an *age* and *size* now as to be a fitter subject to be reasoned with than to receive corporal punishment. As my

[37] George Washington Craik.
[38] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers.*

primary object in placing these boys with you *last,* was that they (at least George) should be treated more on the footing of Friendship, and as companions, than as *mere* School-boys. This I hoped would draw George's attention to objects, and conversations, that would improve, and might contribute in a *degree* to wean him from boyish amusements, the influence of which would extend to Lawrence.

Necessary and decent Clothes they shall have no cause to complain for the want of; and if you, Sir, once a month, or oftener, would be so obliging as to inspect them, and let me know what they need I will take care that they shall be provided. A line from one of them, lodged at the Post, signifying their desire of sending things to my Taylor to repair will induce the occasional call of a servant who may be sent to Town on other business. With esteem, I am, &c.[39]

To GEORGE STEPTOE WASHINGTON

Mount Vernon, August 6, 1788.

Dear George: It was with equal pain and surprise that I was informed by Colo. Hanson on Monday last, of your unjustifiable behaviour in rescuing your brother from that chastisement, which was due to his improper conduct; and which you know, because you have been told it in explicit language, he was authorized to administer whensoever he should deserve it. Such refractory behaviour on your part, I consider as an insult equally offered to myself after the above communications and I shall continue to view it in that light, till you have made satisfactory acknowledgments to Colo. Hanson for the offence given him.

It is as much my wish and intention to see justice done to you and your Brother as it is to punish either when it is merited;

[39] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers.*

but there are proper modes by which this is to be obtained, and it is to be sought by a fair and candid representation of facts whch. can be supported, and not by vague complaints, disobedience, perverseness, or disobliging conduct, which make enemies without producing the smallest good. So often, and strenuously have I endeavored to inculcate this advice, and to shew you the advantages, which are to be expected from close application to your studies, that it is unnecessary to repeat it. If the admonitions of friendship are lost other methods must be tried which cannot be more disagreeable to you than it would be to one, who wishes to avoid it, who is solicitous to see you and your Brother (the only remaining Sons of your father) turn out well, and who is very desirous of continuing your affectionate uncle.[40]

To CLEMENT BIDDLE

Mount Vernon, August 10, 1788.

Dr. Sir: Should this letter get to your hands in time for the Sailing of Captn. Ellwood, and you can readily procure 25 bushls. of the *best* kind of *Winter* Barley I beg you to send it by him that I may try the success of it. The continual rains destroyed my Crop of spring Barley this year, but, if it had been otherwise, the Barley which you sent me the year before was so mixed with Oats (a circumstances I did not know till this Summer, as it was harvested while I was in Philadelphia) that it would no longer do to sow it. Could I be supplied with a quantity of that (spring Barley) which is really good from your City? Could I get it upon better terms from Rhode Island? and at what price (delivered here) might it be received from either place?

[40] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers.*

If you send the 25 bushels of Winter Barley, let it be put in good 4 bushel Sacks marked G. W. and they will be useful thereafter. With esteem, etc.[41]

To ——— CAVERLY

Mount Vernon, August 14, 1788.

Sir: I have not yet been able to examine the drifted wood on my shores; but as I am informed you have been a considerable sufferer by the Storm, you shall be welcome to all that *now* lays from the Gut which formerly divided Simpsons plantation and Johnsons, to the point of the Pocoson opposite to the mouth of Piscataway Creek, excepting Walnut logs, or such pieces as will do for the framing of a wharf. These I reserve for my own use, in that district. and above it, my Nephew, Major Washington, has occasion for the wood for purposes of his own. It will be necessary for you to acquaint his Overseer and mine that this priviledge is allowed you, as orders have been given them to stop all encroachments of this kind and your own interest will prevent them from doing it till you shall have taken of the Drift Wood which at *present* (for I do not mean this as a general privilege) lies on that shore which is here described. I am, etc.[41]

To JOHN MARSHALL

Mount Vernon, August 15, 1788.

Sir: Your letter of the 10th. Ulto. to Doctr. Stuart enclosing a Summons for L. Washington &c. did not come to my hand till last Night.

I am at a loss what step to take in this matter, and should be glad of your advice. Luther Martin is the Attorney Genl. of

[41] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers.*

Maryland and lives in Baltimore. Elizabeth and Sarah Cresap I have always understood live with one Jacobs who Married their Mother, and is said to be a resident of Hampshire County; but two or three summons having been already Sent to the Sheriff thereof and no return of them made, the presumption I think is that there must have been either a Miscarriage, or that *these* Daughters of Michl. Cresap are not residents of that County. Possibly they are Married, and living in Maryland where their Father did.

I should be glad to know whether, the issuing of the Patent, if the summons now sent is not executed and returned; or good reason assigned for the non execution, is *merely* an *Officis* action, will be in consequence of application from the heirs of Michael Cresap or any person in their behalf and who? My reason for it is, I have been informed and I believe from good authority that Jacobs *was* so well convinced of the legality and *equity* of my Title as to declare he should cease all further prosecution of the claim in behalf of the Children to whom I have heard he was guardian. This however may not be true, nor may it be the case with Mr. Martin. The dismission of the Caveat will not invalidate my title to the land but may involve me in a more letigeous and expensive prosecution, or defence of it, and on this principle it was that Mr. Randolph advised the Caveat. Under this relation of the matter I shall be very glad to hear from you, with very great esteem and regard I am, etc.[42]

To CHARLES PETTIT

Mount Vernon, August 16, 1788.

Sir: I have to acknowledge with much sensibility the receipt of your letter, dated the 5th instant, in which you offer your

[42] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

congratulations on the prospect of an established government, whose principles seem calculated to secure the benefits of society to the Citizens of the United States; and in which you also give a more accurate state of fœderal Politics in Pennsylvania than I had before received. It affords me unfeigned satisfaction to find, that the acrimony of parties is much abated.

Doubtless there are defects in the proposed system which may be remedied in a constitutional mode. I am truly pleased to learn that those who have been considered as its most violent opposers will not only acquiesce peaceably, but co-operate in its organization and content themselves with asking amendments in the manner prescribed by the Constitution. The great danger, in my view, was that every thing might be thrown into the last stage of confusion before any government whatsoever could have been established; and that we should suffer a political shipwreck, without the aid of one friendly star to guide us into Port. Every real patriot must have lamented that private feuds and local politics should have unhappily insinuated themselves into, and in some measure obstructed the discussion of a great national question. A just opinion, that the People when rightly informed will decide in a proper manner, ought certainly to have prevented all intemperate or precipitate proceedings on a subject of so much magnitude; nor should a regard to common decency have suffered the zealots in the minority to stigmatize the authors of the Constitution as Conspirators and Traitors. However unfavorably individuals, blinded by passion and prejudice, might have thought of the characters who composed the Convention; the election of those characters by the Legislatures of the several States, and the reference of their Proceedings to the free determination of their Constituents, did not carry the appearance of *a private combination to*

destroy the liberties of their Country. Nor did the outrageous disposition, which some indulged in traducing and villifying the members, seem much calculated to produce concord or accommodation.

For myself, I expected not to be exempted from obloquy any more than others. It is the lot of humanity. But if the shafts of malice had been aimed at me in ever so pointed a manner on this occasion, shielded as I was by a consciousness of having acted in conformity to what I believed my duty, they would have fallen blunted from their mark. It is known to some of my countrymen, and can be demonstrated to the conviction of all, that I was in a manner constrained to attend the general Convention in compliance with the earnest and pressing desires of many of the most respectable characters in different parts of the Continent.

At my age, and in my circumstances, what sinister object, or personal emolument had I to seek after, in this life? The growing infirmities of age and the increasing love of retirement, daily confirm my decided predilection for domestic life: and the great Searcher of human hearts is my witness, that I have no wish, which aspires beyond the humble and happy lot of living and dying a private citizen on my own farm.

Your candour and patriotism in endeavoring to moderate the jealousies and remove the prejudices, which a particular class of Citizens had conceived against the new government, are certainly very commendable; and must be viewed as such by all true friends to their Country. In this description I shall fondly hope I have a right to comprehend myself; and shall conclude by professing a grateful sense of your favorable opinion for me, with which I am, &c.[43]

[43] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers.*

To JAMES MERCER

Mount Vernon, August 17, 1788.

Dear Sir: By the last Post I received the enclosed letter from Mr. McCoull[44] to which I have given the answer that accompanies it. I pray your direction for my conduct, as there can be little doubt, of Mr. McCoulls intention to prosecute the Bond, since he has made application for payment of it after what has passed between you and him on the subject. I am, etc.[45]

To ELÉONOR FRANÇOIS ÉLIE, COMTE DE MOUSTIER

Mount Vernon, August 17, 1788.

Sir: In the letter I did myself the honor to address to your Excellency on the 26th of last March, I intimated that as soon as I should have obtained more particular information concerning the commercial intercourse between France and the United States, I would most willingly communicate the result. Ill prepared as I still am to treat of a subject so complicated in its Nature, and so extensive in its consequences, I will now hazard a few facts and general observations; without confining myself strictly to your questions, to which, however, you may find there will be a constant allusion.

Respecting the utility or hurtfulness of the Tobacco Contract between Mr. Morris and the Farmers General,[46] I have heard so many specious arguments on one side and the other, that I find myself embarrassed in making a fair judgment. In ordinary

[44] Neil McCoull. McCoull's letter is not now found in the *Washington Papers*. Washington's reply to it, dated August 17, in the "Letter Book," referred him to Judge Mercer.

[45] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

[46] Of France.

cases I know that all exclusive privileges and even partial monopolies are pernicious. How far in this instance, the contract has been only a transference of the business from the foreign Agents (English or Scottish) who used to conduct it, into other hands; and whether the same exportations, in quantity, would have been made directly to France through more advantageous channels, I cannot pretend to determine. A free competition in the purchase of that article here, as well as in the sale at the place of market, it seems reasonable to conclude, would be mutually beneficial to both Nations, however, it might be inconvenient to Individuals. Though the present Contract will soon expire of course and leave an equal field of speculation on this side the Atlantic; I have been taught to believe that the Farmers General will not so readily give up their share in the Monopoly, on the other. So the business must, in all probability, revert to its original channel.

In reply to your second, third and fourth questions, I would only briefly observe, that we are yet scarcely sufficiently acquainted with the coarse French woollens and their lowest price, to determine how far they can come in rivalship with those of Britain. The prevailing opinion is in [favor of] the latter: but I see no reason why the former, when calculated for the particular purpose may not be made equally cheap and good. As to other articles of importation, directly from France, they might consist in superfine Broad Cloths (particularly blue, which can be imported cheaper and better than from England) Glass, Gloves, Ribbons, Silks, Cambricks, plain Lawns, Linens, Printed Goods, Wine, Brandy, Oyl, Fruit, and in general every thing necessary for carrying on the Indian Trade: from the Islands, Sugar and Coffee, in addition to the Molasses and Rum which alone are permitted to be exported to the United States

at present. Our produce in Return to Europe might comprehend Tobacco (as the staple from this State) and from the States aggregately wheat, Rice, other Grain, Bread, Flour, Fish, Fish Oyl, Pot ashes, Pearl Ashes, Skins, Furs, Peltry, Indigo, Madder, different dyeing Woods, Lumber, Naval Stores, Iron, Coals, and Ships ready-built: to the Islands, Lumber, Bar-iron, Coals, Live stock and Provisions of all kinds.

It may be mentioned here as a first principle of extending the intercourse, and as a theory which will be found incontestably true in experiment, *That in proportion as France shall increase the facility of our making remittance, in the same ratio shall we encrease the consumption of her produce and manufactures.* Common Sense and sound Policy speak thus on our part: "We can furnish new materials of great value and our ability to do it will augment with our population every day: we want no money for them and we desire no credit may be given to us: we cannot manufacture fine articles so cheaply as we can import them and must while we continue an agricultural People, be supplied from some quarter: we offer you the preference, and will take in different Goods, to the amount received from us in our staple Commodities."

This Doctrine has been already verified so far as an opportunity has been afforded to observe the effect. The use of French Brandy, in common Taverns, as well as private Houses, has been substituted, for two or three years past, very much in the room of Jamaica Rum. Probably not less than 24,000 gallons have been imported into this State, in one year. The consumption of French wines is also much greater than it has formerly been; and may by a moderate calculation amount to between one half and one third of all that is imported. The demand for both these articles might still be extended with the

means of making remittance. Not much French salt is made use of for curing provisions in Virginia. The opinion is, that it is not so clean as that imported from other parts of Europe. If it was properly purified it might and certainly would be brought out as ballast in great quantities, and find a ready market.

About half the exports from Virginia are carried in American bottoms, the remainder principally in British bottoms. There are, however, a number of other foreign vessels employed in the trade.

I know not of any other equivalents, than those to be derived by France from the extension of her commerce, which we can give for any new favours in your Islands. Under the present rigorous restrictions it is thought that trade is unprofitable for us and will decay or be disused as soon as other avenues for receiving our produce shall be gradually opened. The Maritime Genius of this Country is now steering our Vessels in every ocean; to the East Indies, the North-west Coasts of America and the extremities of the Globe. I have the best evidence, that the scale of commerce, so long against us, is beginning to turn in our favour, and that (as a new thing in our new world) the amount of exports from one State, last year, exceeded that of the imports, more than 230,000 Pounds.

What change in systems and amelioration in the general complexion of our affairs, are likely to be produced in consequence of the national government, which is on the eve of being established, I will not undertake to predict, I hope and trust the ties which connect this Nation with France, will be strengthened and made durable by it. In the mean time, there are three things, which I flatter myself will counterbalance, on the side of the French commerce, the three advantages, of which

I conceive the British Merchants to be possessed. The circumstances to which I allude are, 1st, The encreasing prejudices of this country against a commercial intercourse with England, occasioned by provocations and augmented by impositions on her part; 2ndly. The facility given in many instances by the French government for our making remittances in the staple commodities of this Country; and 3dly. the change of taste in favor of articles, produced or manufactured in France, which may indeed in a great degree be attributed to the affection and gratitude still felt for her generous interposition in our favor.

I should be truly happy to learn that this Country and Inhabitants have become agreeable to your Excellency upon acquaintance. For you may be assured, Sir, no one can be more zealous than myself in promoting a friendly connection between our Nations, or in rendering your situation perfectly satisfactory, while the United States shall enjoy the benefit of your residence in them. With the highest consideration &c.[47]

*To JOHN BEALE BORDLEY[48]

Mount Vernon, August 17, 1788.

Sir: The letter with which you honord me, dated the 31st. Ult; together with the Wheat, Barley and Madder came safe to hand. For your kindness in presenting them, I pray you to accept my best acknowledgments and thanks.

Agriculture being my favourite amusment I am always pleased with communications that relate to it. To these the great improvemts. in Husbandry, of late years, in England, may be attributed; and to a liberal communication of experiments must this Country be indebted for those profitable courses of Crops

[47] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers.*
[48] Of Wye, Md.

which are best adapted to our climate, our soil, and our circumstances. Experiments must be made, and the practice (of such of them as are useful) must be introduced by Gentlemen who have leizure and abilities to devise and wherewithal to hazard something. The common farmer will not depart from the *old* road 'till the *new* one is made so plain and easy that he is sure it cannot be mistaken, and that it will lead him directly to his object. It is right perhaps it shd. be so, for new ways are thorny and require time for amelioration.

No Wheat that has ever yet fallen under my observation exceeds the *White* which some years ago I cultivated extensively; but which, from inattention during my absence from home of almost nine years has got so mixed or degenerated as scarcely to retain any of its original characteristic properties. But if the march of the Hessian Fly, southerly, cannot be arrested; and Colo. Morgans experiments are corroborated by others of equal skill and attention, *this White Wheat* must yield the palm to the *yellow bearded,* which alone, it seems, is able to resist the depredations of that destructive insect. This makes your present of it to me more valuable. It shall be cultivated with care.

The Cape Wheat I have cultivated three years successively. The frost of the last, almost destroyed it. In neither, did it produce a full grain, though a large one. I have just harvested a little of two sorts of wheat sent me by Arthur Young Esquire of England; one of which he says is called the Harrison Wheat and is in high estimation in that Country; the other is a large white wheat to which I do not recollect his having given a name. The seed being injured in its passage came up badly, and with difficulty was preserved from weeds &ca. No conclusive opinion therefore can be formed of either from the trial of this year; but should any thing indicate a superior quality in them next, I will reserve some of the Seed for you.

That the system (if it deserves the appellation of one) of Corn, Wheat, hay; has been injurious, and if continued would prove ruinous to our lands, I believe no one who has attended to the ravages which have been produced by it in our fields, is at a loss to decide. But with deference let me ask if the substitute you propose is the best that can be devised? Wheat follows Corn: here are not only two corn crops, but those of the most exhausting nature following each other without the intervention of a restorative; when, by the approved courses now practiced in England, *Grain* and (what are called) *fallow* Crops, succeed each other alternately. Though I am not *strongly* attached to a particular course (being open to conviction) yet, that which has obtained most in my mind, and which I have been endeavouring (for it is not easy to go fully into any system which produces a *material* change, at once) to carry into execution, is the following; which for the better understanding of it, shall have dates to the growth of the respective Crops. By the usual mode (it is scarcely necessary to observe) we have *three* fields—viz—one in Corn, one in wheat, and one in hay. By my plan these three fields are divided into *Six*. In 1788 for instance, one of them (say No. 1) is planted with Corn 8 feet by 2, single stalks; with Irish Potatoes or Carrots, or partly both between. That Corn planted in this manner will yield as much to the Acre as in any other. That the quantity of Potatoes will at least quadruple the quantity of Corn, and that the Potatoes do not exhaust the Soil, are facts well established in my mind. In April 1789 it is sown with Buck wheat for manure, which is plowed in before Harvest when the Seed begins to ripen and there is a sufficiency of it to seed the ground a second time. In July it is again plowed; which gives two dressings to the land at the expence of a bushl. of B. Wheat and the plowings which would otherwise be essential for a summer fallow. In August, after the

putrefaction and fermentation is over, wheat is sown, and in 1790 harvested. In 1791 the best, and earliest kind of Indian Pease are sown broadcast, to be mowed when generally ripe. Since the adoptn. of this course, and progress that has been made to carry it into effect, I have had too much cause to be convinced, that Pease harvested in this manr. is a considerable exhaustion of the Soil. I have some thoughts therefore of substituting a medley, of Pease, Buck Wheat for seed, Turnips, Pompions &ca. in such parts of the field as best suit them, they will be useful, and serve as preparatives. In 1792 Spring Barley or Oats, or equal quantities of each, will be sown with red clover; the latter to be fed with light Stock the first year after harvest. In 1793, the field remains in Clover for Hay, or grazing according to circumstances, and in 1794 comes into Corn again, and goes on as before.

It may be remarked here, as an objection to this System; that Wheat, in the best farming Counties in England follows the Clover hay. Is sown on a single ploughing, and has been found profitable from practice. My reasons for departing from that mode are: 1. our ploughing is not equal to theirs, of course the clover is not so well buried, nor the ensuing crop (of Wheat) so free from grass as theirs. and 2. If we sow Wheat at an early and proper period, we loose a valuable part of the clover crop. Whereas the ground for Corn need not be broken till the season for grazing is over, and the Beasts in their Stalls. By the tillage too which the Corn Crop *ought* to receive, followed by Buck Wheat twice ploughed in, Weeds and grass, one would think, must be entirely subdued.

To contrast the probable yield of this system with the old course of Corn, Wheat and hay, suppose a farm of 300 acres of arable Land.

Old System[49]

100. acs. of Corn, 12½ bushels is 1250 a 3/			£187.10
100. do. Wheat, 6	600 5/		150
100. do. Pasture			337.10
		In favr. of the New	116. 5
			453.15.0

New System

50 acs. Corn .a 12½ is 625 .a 3/	£93.15
Potatoes betwn. the Corn Rows, will quadruple the quanty. of Corn; but allowing for Seed, accidts. &ca. only dble., that gives 1250. bushl. 1/	62.10
50 acs. Wheat a 9 bl. is 450 5/	112.10
50. do. Barley 10 500 3/6	87.10
50 do. Pease 4. 200 3/6	35
50. do. Clover Hay 25 Tons 50/	62.10
50. do. Pasture	
	£453.15.0

In the above statement, as much I conceive is allowed to the old, and taken from the New System, as can be done with justice. The Pastures of the latter will be fine, and improving. Those of the former, bad, declining, and running into gullies. The hand-machine spoken of by you for sowing clover seed, I have wished to see, but never yet have seen one; but I cannot conceive that by *this,* or *any other* contrivance, a bushel of Clover seed can be made to subserve 20 acrs. of Land without a considerable mixture of other grass Seeds; which would, in a manner, be wasted in so short a Lay as is proposed by either of our systems.

[49] In the manuscript the old and new systems are paralleled.

I have been informed that you have in possession one of Winlaws machines for threshing wheat: Pray how do you approve of it on trial? Many of these newly invented things meet the approbation of the moment, but will not stand the test of constant use, or the usage of common labourers. I have requested Mr. Young, if this machine has supported its reputation either in his opinion (if he has attended to the use of it) or the judgment of those on whom he can confide, to send me one.

I wish, notwithstanding, to receive your acct. of it. With sentiments of esteem etc. [MS.H.S.]

To JAMES MADISON

Mount Vernon, August 17, 1788.

My dear Sir: Although the letter of Mr Pleasants and its enclosure will appear under date of the 25th of July, is never got to my hand till friday last; Tomorrow is the first Post by which I could forward it. It is now with thanks for the perusal. I shall write to the Count de Moustier but in pretty general terms giving the substance rather than the detail of this business.

That the circular letter from the Convention of New York should be handed to the public as the unanimous sense of that body is, to me, surprizing. It will, I fear, be attended with parnicious consequences. The decision of North Carolina, unaccountable as it is, is not, in my opinion, more to be regretted. With sentiments of the highest esteem etc.

Augt. 18th

I had written this letter, but had not sent it to the Post Office, when your favor of the 11th was brought to me. I am clearly in sentiment with you that the longer the question respecting the permanent Seat of Congress remains unagitated, the greater

certainty there will be of its fixture in a central spot. But not having the same means of information and judging that you have, it would have been a moot point with me, whether a *temporary* residence of that body at New York would not have been a less likely means of keeping it *ultimately* from the center (being farther removed from it) than if it was to be at Philada; because, in proportion as you draw to the center, you lessen the inconveniences and of course the solicitude of the Southern and Western extremities;[50] and when to these are super-added the acquaintances and connections which, naturally will be formed, the expences which more than probably will be incurred for the accomodation of the public officers, with a long train of etceteras, it might be found an arduous task to approach nearer to the Axis thereafter.

These however, are first thoughts; and many not go to the true principles of policy which governs the case.[51]

To AUGUSTIN, COMTE DE GRASSE

Mount Vernon, August 18, 1788.

Sir: The letter which you did me the honor to write on the 11th. of March[52] last is before me, and affords an occasion of testifying the sincerity of my regrets for the distressing event announced in it. Be persuaded, Sir, I should do injustice to my feelings, if my disinterested friendship did not sympathize with your filial duty, in expressions of the most genuine grief, for the death of your father. Indeed the merits of the Count de

[50] The "Letter Book" reads: "of the Union will be lessened, and of course their anxieties."

[51] The text is from the printed copy in the sales catalogue of the *Washington-Madison Papers* (McGuire Collection), 1892. Careful comparison of the printed texts in the McGuire catalogue and the Washington "Letter Books," with photostats of the originals, where available, has shown the catalogue is more accurate textually than the "Letter Books."

[52] This letter, in the *Washington Papers,* is signed "Le Cte. Auguste de Grasse."

Grasse and the services which he had the happiness of rendering to this country, have given a singular poignancy to the melancholly, which United America feels for his loss. You need not doubt but those merits and those services will be as long held in remembrance here, as the honorable testimony of this Nations gratitude for them shall be preserved in your family.

After these pointed assurances and expressions of real esteem for your father; the son of my gallant friend and successful associate in arms will not find it difficult to comprehend the interest I take in whatever concerns his reputation and glory. But it rests not with me to grant permission for any one to bear the Insignia of the Cincinnati. All I can do will be to refer your request and pretentions to the Genl. meeting of that Society, who alone are competent to gratify your wishes. The General Meetings are Triennial. The next will not be untill a year from next May: Although I am the President, I do not expect to attend, because it is stipulated and understood that I shall be exempted from the trouble of the Office. For this reason, I will forward a transcript of your Letter to Genl. Knox, who is the Secretary, with a request that it may be laid before the General meeting and that the result may be made known to you. With sentiments of the highest regard and consideration, I am, etc.[53]

*To WILLIAM TUDOR

Mount Vernon, August 18, 1788.

Sir: I have just received your friendly letter of the 26th. of July, together with the History of the Insurrections in Massachusetts; and cannot delay to return you my thanks for these tokens of your regard.

Though I have not yet had time to look through the book, from the interesting nature of the subject, and the judicious

[53] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

manner in which it seems to be handled, I anticipate considerable amusement and information. The apology for the publication at the present time is well conceived, and forms a just discrimination between the circumstances of our own and some other Countries.

The troubles in your State, may, as you justly observe, have operated in proving to the comprehension of many minds the necessity of a more efficient general government. A Multiplicity of circumstances, scarcely yet investigated, appears to have co-operated in bringing about the great, and I trust the happy, revolution, that is on the eve of being accomplished. It will not be uncommon that those things, which were considered at the moment as real ills, should have been no inconsiderable causes in producing positive and permanent national felicity. For it is thus that Providence works in the mysterious course of events "from seeming evil still educing good."

I was happy to hear from several respectable quarters that liberal policy and fœderal sentiments had been rapidly encreasing in Massachusetts for sometime past: it gives me an additional pleasure to find that labour is becoming more productive and commerce more flourishing among the Citizens.

If I have formerly approved myself inclined to subserve the public interest by fostering youthful merit, I shall now claim to be credited, when I assert that my cordial desires for the happiness of the Republic and the prosperity of its friends are by no means diminished: and particularly when I add that with great esteem, I am etc. [M.H.S.]

To JAMES SWAN

Mount Vernon, August 18, 1788.

Sir: I have received your favor of the 5th. of June from Havre de Grace. The measure you took, in recommending to Mr.

Cadran the transmission of the Marqs. de la Fayette's letters for Mr. Crevecœur through my hands, was very acceptable to me and did not stand in need of an apology.

About the time I was occupied in forwarding the Packet to New York, I had the satisfaction to hear of Mr. Warville's[54] safe arrival in Boston. From the favorable character given of that Gentleman, and the important object which has occasioned his advent, I hope his visit to America may become equally interesting and satisfactory in a personal and national point of view.[55] With sentiments of esteem etc.[56]

To DOCTOR THOMAS THOMSON[57]

Mount Vernon, August 21, 1788.

Sir: In answer to your favor of the 12th. instant, I can assure you, if it shall be found that Doctr. Spence[58] and family are in the unhappy situation you suppose, and I can be instrumental by writing to Mr. Jefferson or to any of my friends in France in obtaining their release, I should do it with cheerfulness and pleasure. An application to the Court of that Nation from a private character would be improper, such, if made, ought to go from the Sovereignty of these States.

But, Sir, let not Mr. Thomson's hopes on this occasion be too sanguine. There are reasons to distrust the narrative of James Joshua Reynolds; to denominate him an Imposter (as you will

[54] J. P. Brissot de Warville.

[55] Warville visited Mount Vernon. Nov. 15–17, 1788, and described his visit in his *Nouveau Voyage dans les État Unis de l'Amérique Septentrionale, fait en 1788,* which was published in Paris in 1791.

[56] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers.*

On August 18 Washington wrote briefly to Marquis de Lotbiniere, acknowledging his congratulations on the ratification of the Constitution by New York; and to a Monsieur Cadran, thanking him for forwarding letters. Copies of both these letters are in the "Letter Book" in the *Washington Papers.*

[57] Of Nomini, Westmoreland County, Va.

[58] Dr. William Spence.

perceive by the enclosed transcript from the Pensyla. Packet and Daily Advertiser) and other informations which your Son will probably communicate to you; and that the accounts given by this Reynolds are for time Serving purposes. To these in my opinion, may be added, as strengthing the evidence, of Doctor Spences own letter dated within a few days Sail off Sandy hook where it is believed no Cruiser from the Piratical State ever yet appeared none having ever yet been seen, or heard to be, in these Seas. If therefore it was his fate to fall into the hands of these pests to mankind it must have been by Re-capture which is not very probable from the accts. that are delivered.

The most eligable previous steps in this business, in my judgment, will be, to write first to Mr. Barclay,[59] who has not been long returned from the court of Morocco in a public character and particularly from Algiers, and who must have obtained the *best* information of all American Prisoners, at least of the capture of the Vessels in which they were; to know if any such information ever came before him, and at the same time to enquire more particular of some Gentlemen in Philadelphia with respect to this Reynolds, the circumstances related by him of the Vessel called the Rising Sun of Israel Jacobs &c. These I will do, the answers may throw light upon the subject and direct what further Measures may be necessary to pursue when I receive them, the Result shall be communicated to you, by Sir Yr. etc.[60]

To JOHN FITZGERALD AND GEORGE GILPIN

Mount Vernon, August 22, 1788.

Gentlemen: It is of so much consequence to the Company, that *necessary* and *legal* measures should be pursued to obtain

[59] Thomas Barclay.
[60] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

Judgments against its deliquent members at the ensuing General Court, now little more than five weeks distant, that I beg a moment may not be lost in complying with the requisition of Mr. Lee[61] for this purpose.

In the meantime if one of two things must take place which seem very likely, a stagnation in this business or another call upon the subscribers for 2½ or 5 pr. Ct. I am decidedly in favor of the latter. To advance more money for this purpose when there are such sums unpaid, cannot be more irksome, or less convenient to any one than it is to myself; but when the interest of the company, or the reputation of the undertaking is at stake, I will chearfully submit to it: When the subscribers see and are satisfied that we are pursuing rigorous measures to recover the unsatisfied calls, they ought to submit to it, but if there is the least remissness in the latter, or blunders on our side, they will, indeed, have great and just cause to complain. For this reason let Mr. Lee direct the essentials. Let us cause them to be executed without delay, precisely agreeable to his orders. I am, etc.[62]

To THOMAS HANSON MARSHALL[63]

Mount Vernon, August 24, 1788.

Sir: Upon receipt of your letter of the 21st. instant I sent up to Alexandria to know what the *cash* price of wheat was at *that* place; and am informed that the highest that has been offered is four Shillings and sixpence for wheat at 60 lb. to the Bushel all Cash or 4/9 part Goods. As I do not incline to exceed the *market* price I cannot give 5/ unless it should rise to that; and whether this is probable, or not, is more than I can tell. The

[61] Charles Lee.
[62] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.
[63] Of Marshall Hall, Md.

Sale of flour being dull, and the price low, I have no thoughts at present of buying this article for Manufacturing. My chief, indeed only object in applying to you for wheat, was for the benefit of exchanging seed from light to Stiff-land; and vice versa; which every farmer would find [to] his account in doing. I therefore thought your wheat (if it grew as I expected it did on light land) would suit me as mine would do you, if the sorts were good and approved; but then as I am now seeding my ground it would not answer my purposes to wait long. I am, etc.[64]

To GOVERNOR WILLIAM SMALLWOOD

Mount Vernon, August 25, 1788.

Dr. Sir: Permit me to introduce to your acquaintance Doctr. Ruston,[65] the bearer of this, a gentleman who was warmly recommended to me by my deceased friend Colo. Fairfax as a Gentleman of merit and a warm friend to the American Cause during its contest with Great Britain.

The Doctr. has some business with the Assembly of your State which will cause his attendance at Annapolis and is the cause of my taking the liberty of introducing him to your civilities. I am, etc.[66]

To GEORGE MORGAN

Mount Vernon, August 25, 1788.

Sir: The letter which you did me the favor of writing to me the 31st. of last month, with a Postscript to it on the 5th. of this, came duly to hand; as did a small parcel of wheat, forwarded

[64] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

[65] Dr. Thomas Ruston.

[66] Practically this same letter was sent to Charles Carroll, of Carrollton, and George Plater, copies of which are in the "Letter Book" in the *Washington Papers*.

some time before, by the Post Master General from New York. For your polite attention to me in these instances I pray you to accept my best acknowledgments and Thanks.

With much concern I have heard of the ravages of the Hessian fly on the wheaten Crops in the States East of the Delaware and of the progress of this distructive insect Southerly; but I congratulate with you sincerely on your successful endeavors in the management of your measures &c. to counteract them. If the yellow bearded wheat from a continuation of experiments is found no matter from what cause, to be obnoxious to and able to withstand this all devouring insect [it] must indeed be valuable; but I have paid too little attention to the growth of this particular kind hitherto, to inform you in what degree of cultivation it is in this State, I may venture, at a hazard, however, to add that it is rare: because it is unusual to see fields of bearded wheat of *any* kind growing with us, particularly in the Western parts of the State, which falls more immediately under my observation. I will distribute the Seed which you have sent me; make enquiry into this matter and communicate the result, begging in the meantime, if any further observations on this insect, and the means of guarding against him should be made by you that you will have the goodness to communicate them to.[67]

*To CLEMENT BIDDLE

Mount Vernon, August 25, 1788.

Dear Sir: Your letters of the 13th. and 17th. instt. are both at hand, but the Packet is not yet arrived. The Iron written for in one of my last letters, was no other than the common

[67] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

sheet iron (about as thin as sheet copper) which is rolled at the Trenton Mills. The use for which I wanted it being, to cover the Mould boards of my Ploughs to prevent the Wood from wearing by the friction. If that which you have sent is not of this kind my purpose will not be answered by it. The length or width of the Sheets is immaterial because a cold Chissel will soon reduce them to Suit the parts for which they are intended to cover. Should you have mistaken me before, I now request 200 weight of *this* kind, for the uses here mentioned.

Previous to the receipt of your letter of the 17th. I had been advised by Mr. Thomas Smith of his having £50 of my money ready to send to you by the first safe conveyance. I am glad to hear that it has reached your hands. Be so good as to discharge the enclosed acct. for Sundries brought, and ordered to this place by Mrs. Morris.

I shall rely on you for the Winter Barley agreeably to my former order, and beg it may come by the first good conveyance lest the Season should be too far advanced for the sowing it in time. As it is a grain with which I have little acquaintance I beg to be informed of the quantity of Seed which is allowed, usually, to the Acre. I hope you are perfectly recovered from yr. late indisposition. Mrs. Washington joins me in good wishes for you and Mrs. Biddle and I am, etc.

PS. My shifting sives, or Screens that go into the Dutch Fans, on which the grain falls from the Hoppers, are so much worn as to require new ones. Be so good therefore as to send me ten, viz, five of the open kind, and five of the closer sort (both as usual). The whole to be (including the frame of wood into which the wire is worked) 16 Inches by 14 Inches, the frame ⅝ths. thick. These are required by the first conveyance as they are much wanted for the use of GW—n. [H.S.P.]

To BENJAMIN LINCOLN

Mount Vernon, August 28, 1788.

My dear Sir: I received with your letter of the 9th. instant, one from Mr. Minot, and also his History of the Insurrections in Massachusetts. The work seems to be executed with ingenuity, as well as to be calculated to place facts in a true point of light, obviate the prejudices of those who are unacquainted with the circumstances and answer good purposes in respect to our government in general. I have returned him my thanks for his present, by this conveyance.

The public appears to be anxiously waiting for the decision of Congress, respecting the *place* for convening the National Assembly under the new government, and the Ordinance for its organization. Methinks it is a great misfortune, that local interests should involve themselves with federal concerns at this moment.

So far as I am able to learn, fœderal principles are gaining ground considerably. The declaration of some of the most respectable characters in this state (I mean of those who were opposed to the government) is now explicit, that they will give the Constitution a fair chance, by affording it all the support in their power. Even in Pennsylvania, the Minority, who were more violent than in any other place, say they will only seek for amendments in the mode pointed out by the Constitution itself.

I will however just mention by way of caveat, there are suggestions, that attempts will be made to procure the election of a number of antifœderal characters to the first Congress, in order to embarrass the wheels of government and produce premature alterations in its Constitution. How these hints, which have come through different channels, may be well or ill founded, I know not: but, it will be advisable, I should think,

for the fœderalists to be on their guard so far as not to suffer any secret machinations to prevail, without taking measures to frustrate them. That many amendments and explanations might and should take place, I have [no] difficulty in conceding; but, I will confess, my apprehension is, that the New York Circular letter[68] is intended to bring on a general Convention at too early a period, and in short, by referring the subject to the Legislatures, to set every thing afloat again. I wish I may be mistaken in imagining, that there are persons, who, upon finding they could not carry their point by an open attack against the Constitution, have some sinister designs to be silently effected, if possible. But I trust in that Providence, which has saved us in six troubles yea in seven, to rescue us again from any imminent, though unseen, dangers. Nothing, however, on our part ought to be left undone. I conceive it to be of unspeakable importance, that whatever there be of wisdom, and prudence, and patriotism on the Continent, should be concentred in the public Councils, at the first outset. Our habits of intimacy will render an apology unnecessary. Heaven is my witness, that an inextinguishable desire [that] the felicity of my country may be promoted is my only motive in making these observations. With sentiments of sincere attachment etc.[69]

To REVEREND JONATHAN EDWARDS[70]

Mount Vernon, August 28, 1788.

Sir: I am to acknowledge the receipt of the letter and Pamphlet, which you have been pleased to forward to me by a late

[68] A circular letter from the Convention of the State of New York to the executives of the different States to be laid before their respective legislatures, Aug. 9, 1788. It is printed in *The Documentary History of the Constitution*, vol. 5, p. 62. (*Bulletin of the Bureau of Rolls and Library of the Department of State*, no. 11, pt. 2.)

[69] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

[70] President of Union College, Schenectady, N. Y.

conveyance; and to desire you will accept of my thanks for them.

You have been rightly informed relative to the application, which had been made to me from Europe, for Documents concerning the Indian Language. It seems that a Society of *Literati* are endeavouring to make discoveries respecting the origin and derivation of different Languages. In the prosecution of this curious study, all Judicious philological communications must be important, yours, I conceive, will not be deficient in that quality. I have long regretted that so many Tribes of the American Aborigines should have become almost or entirely, extinct, without leaving such vestiges, as that the genius and idiom of their Language might be traced. Perhaps, from such sources, the descent or kindred of nations, whose origins are lost in remote antiquity or illiterate darkness, might be more rationally investigated, than in any other mode. The task you have imposed upon yourself, of preserving some materials for this purpose, is certainly to be commended.

I entreat you, Sir, to believe that I am duly penitrated with your friendly and pious wishes for my happiness and that I am, etc.[71]

To GEORGE RICHARDS MINOT

Mount Vernon, August 28,[72] 1788.

Sir: Your favor of the 7th. of this Month has been duly received; and I lose no time before I acknowledge the obligations under which you have placed me, by offering the copy of your History[73] as a present. Aside of [*sic*] the honorable testimony of my friend Genl. Lincoln, the intrinsic merit of the work (so

[71] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

[72] Sparks prints this letter under date of August 26 in the Appendix to vol. 12 of his *Writings of Washington*.

[73] *The History of the Insurrection in Massachusetts in the Year Seventeen Hundred and Eighty Six and the Rebellion Consequent Thereon* (Worcester: 1788).

far as I am able to form a judgment from its perspicuity and impartiality) carries a sufficient recommendation.

The series of events which followed from the conclusion of the War, forms a link of no ordinary magnitude, in the chain of the American Annals. That portion of domestic History, which you have selected for your narrative, deserved particularly to be discussed and set in its proper point of light, while materials for the purpose were attainable. Nor was it unbecoming or unimportant to enlighten the Europeans, who seem to have been extremely ignorant with regard to these transactions. While I comprehend fully the difficulty of stating facts on the spot, amidst, the living actors and recent animosities, I approve the more cordially that candor with which you appear to have done it.

I will only add that I always feel a singular satisfaction in discovering proofs of talents and patriotism, in those who are soon to take the parts of the generation,[74] which is now hastening to leave the stage, and that, with wishes for your prosperity, I remain etc.[75]

To ALEXANDER HAMILTON

Mount Vernon, August 28, 1788.

Dear Sir: I have had the pleasure to receive your letter dated the 13th.[76] accompanied by one addressed to Genl. Morgan. I will forward the letter to General Morgan by the first conveyance, and add my particular wishes, that he would comply with the request contained in it. Although I can scarcely imagine how the watch of a British officer, killed within their lines, should have fallen into his hands who was many miles

[74] Minot was then 30 years of age.

[75] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers.*

[76] Not now found in the *Washington Papers,* but is in the *Hamilton Papers* in the Library of Congress, having been transferred to that collection by John C. Hamilton.

distant from the scene of action, yet, if it so happened, I flatter myself there will be no reluctance or delay in restoring it to the family.[77]

As the perusal of the political papers under the signature of Publius has afforded me great satisfaction, I shall certainly consider them as claiming a most distinguished place in my Library. I have read every performance which has been printed on one side and the other of the great question lately agitated (so far as I have been able to obtain them) and, without an unmeaning compliment, I will say, that I have seen no other so well calculated (in my judgment) to produce conviction on an unbiased Mind, as the *Production* of your *triumvirate*.[78] When the transient circumstances and fugitive performances which attended this Crisis shall have disappeared, That Work[79] will merit the Notice of Posterity; because in it are candidly and ably discussed the principles of freedom and the topics of government, which will be always interesting to mankind so long as they shall be connected in Civil Society.

The circular letter from your Convention, I presume, was the equivalent by which you obtained an acquiescence in the proposed Constitution. Notwithstanding I am not very well satisfied with the tendency of it, yet the fœderal affairs had proceeded, with few exceptions, in so good a train, that I hope the political Machine may be put in motion, without much effort or hazard of miscarrying.

On the delicate subject with which you conclude your letter, I can say nothing;[80] because the event alluded to may never

[77] Hamilton's letter states that Captain Cochran, of the British Navy (Hamilton later calls him Major Cochran), requested the return of his brother's watch. His brother was killed at Yorktown and General Morgan is stated to have purchased the watch, for a trifle, from a British soldier.

[78] Madison, Hamilton, and Jay.

[79] Now known as *The Federalist*.

[80] Hamilton had written (August 13): "I take it for granted, Sir, you have concluded to comply with what will no doubt be the general call of your country in relation to the new government. You will permit me to say that it is indispensable you should

happen; and because, in case it should occur, it would be a point of prudence to defer forming one's ultimate and irrevocable decision, so long as new data might be afforded for one to act with the greater wisdom and propriety. I would not wish to conceal my prevailing sentiment from you. For you know me well enough, my good Sir, to be persuaded, that I am not guilty of affectation, when I tell you, that it is my great and sole desire to live and die, in peace and retirement on my own farm. Were it even indispensable a different line of conduct should be adopted; while you and some others who are acquainted with my heart would *acquit,* the world and Posterity might probably accuse me [of] *inconsistency* and *ambition.* Still I hope I shall always possess firmness and virtue enough to maintain (what I consider the most enviable of all titles) the character of *an honest man,* as well as prove (what I desire to be considered in reality) that I am, with great sincerity and esteem, etc.[81]

To J. P. BRISSOT DE WARVILLE

Mount Vernon, August 28, 1788.

Sir: The letter which you did me the honor to address to me on the 10th. of August accompanied by one from the Marquis de la Fayette, arrived by the last post. Whensoever you can make your Journey to Virginia convenient for yourself, I shall

lend yourself to its first operations. It is to little purpose to have *introduced* a system, if the weightiest influence is not given to its firm *establishment,* in the outset." This letter is in the *Hamilton Papers* in the Library of Congress.

[81]From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers.*

In answer to this letter from Washington, Hamilton wrote (September —): "I should be deeply pained my Dear Sir if your scruples in regard to a certain station should be matured into a resolution to decline it; though I am neither surprised at their existence nor can I but agree in opinion that the caution you observe in deferring an ultimate determination is prudent. I have however reflected maturely on the subject and have come to a conclusion, (in which I feel no hesitation) that every public and personal consideration will demand from you an acquescence in what will *certainly* be the unanimous wish of your country." Hamilton's letter is in the *Hamilton Papers* in the Library of Congress.

hope to have the pleasure of seeing you at Mount Vernon, and of testifying my regard for a gentleman who interests himself so much in the Wellfare and reputation of America.

With sentiments of consideration and regard etc.[82]

To JOHN MARY

Mount Vernon, August 29, 1788.

Sir: Agreeably to your desire I am sitting down to acknowledge the receipt of the letter, which you was pleased to address to me on the 18th. of this Month.[83] In the multitude of persons, public and private, of whom I may have had some knowledge, it will not be thought strange, that I should retain no recollection of you. I am only sorry for the losses which you say you have sustained, without being able to remedy them.

You are doubtless informed, Sir, that I lead altogether a private life. It would hardly be expected then that I should go abroad in search of employment for a gentleman with whose talents and character, I have not the honor of being acquainted. Not having any agency with the College that bears my name, or knowledge of any family that, at present, wants an Instructor in the French language, you will excuse me for giving this laconic reply, with my wishes for your success. I am, etc.[82]

To JOSEPH MANDRILLON

Mount Vernon, August 29, 1788.

Sir: I have lately received, with a grateful sensibility the Miscellaneous Collection in verse and prose, which you have had the goodness to send to me, accompanied by your letter under

[82] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers.*

[83] Mary stated that he had been secretary to the Consulate General of France during the Revolutionary War. He had been, also, French instructor at the University of Cambridge, and was then teaching French in New York.

date of May 24th; for both of which I pray you to accept my warmest thanks.

But, Sir, I consider you as a patriot of the world, earnestly solicitous for the freedom and prosperity of all nations. And I should do injustice to my feelings, not to go beyond common expressions of personal civility, in testifying my sense of the uniform and able exertions you have made in favor of the cause and reputation of the United States of America. Your honest endeavours to confute the erroneous reports that had been scattered in Europe, respecting the partial commotions in Massachusetts, were truly laudable, and merit the applause of every patriot. As I know of no European Character better calculated or more disposed to make good use of an authentic History of the Insurrections in Massachusetts,[84] It possesses the merit of being written with simplicity and impartiality, and will tend to destroy the idle opinions that were propagated in the English News Papers on the subject. All the accounts of our being in great jeopardy from a war with the savages are equally groundless, and seem principally designed to deter People from migrating to America.

We flatter ourselves your patriotic wishes and sanguine hopes respecting the political felicity of this Country, will not prove abortive. We hope, from the general acquiescence of the States so far, with small exceptions, in the proposed Constitution, that the foundation is laid for the enjoyment of much purer civil liberty and greater public happiness than have hitherto been the portion of Mankind. And we trust the western World will yet verify the predictions of its friends and prove an Asylum for the persecuted of all Nations. With sentiments of great esteem &c.[85]

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[84] Another of the many careless omissions of the "Letter Book" copyist. The volume sent was, probably, Minot's *History of the Insurrection*.

[85] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

*To SIR EDWARD NEWENHAM

Mount Vernon, August 29,[86] 1788.

Dear Sir: I beg you will be persuaded that it always gives me singular pleasure to hear from you; and that your obliging letter of the 22nd and 25th of March afforded me particular satisfaction. I am also to thank you for the Irish Parliamentary Papers which have come safe to hand. The Edition of Cooke's[87] Voyage, which you mention to have forwarded by a former occasion, has not been so successfull in its voyage to me; any more than the *New Books* wch. (in a letter of the 13th of Novr. 1786) you say had been sent to me by the Mary Captn. Mathews; or I should not have neglected the acknowledgement of them.

I am heartily glad to find that the prosperity of Ireland is on the encrease. It was afflicting for the Philanthropic mind, to consider the mass of People, inhabiting a Country naturally fertile in productions and full of resources, sunk to an abject degree of penury and depression. Such has been the picture we have received of the Peasantry. Nor do their calamities seem to be entirely removed yet, as we may gather from the Spirited speech of Mr. Gratton[88] on the commutation of tythe. But I hope, ere long, matters will go right there and in the rest of the World. For instead of the disconsolatory idea that every thing is growing worse, I would fain cheer myself with a hope that every thing is beginning to mend. As you observe, if Ireland was 500 miles farther distant from Great Britain the case with respect to the former would be as speedily as materially changed for the better.

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[86] The "Letter Book" dates this letter July 20 and Sparks prints it, in garbled form and with unnoted omissions, under that date. The letter sent, however, has had the date altered (apparently by George Augustine Washington) to August 29.

[87] Capt. James Cook.

[88] Henry Grattan. He was a Member of the Irish Parliament.

But what shall we say of Wars and the appearances of Wars in the rest of the World? Mankind are not yet ripe for the Millenial State. The affairs of some of the greatest Potentates appear to be very much embroiled in the North of Europe. The question is, whether the Turks will be driven out of Europe or not? One would suppose, if discipline and arrangement are to be calculated upon in preference to ignorance and brutal force, that the Porte must recede before the two Imperial Powers. But in the game of War, there are so many contingencies that often prevent the most probable events from taking place; and in the present instance, there are so many causes that may kindle the hostile conflagration into a general flame, that we need not be over hasty and sanguine in drawing our conclusions. Let us see how far the sparks of hostility have been scattered. The almost open rupture between the Emperor of Germany and his subjects in the Low Countries; the interference of Prussia in Holland and the disordered condition of that republic; the new alliances on the part of that republic with England and Prussia; the humiliating dereliction (or rather sacrafice) which France has been obliged to make of the Dutch Patriots in consequence of the derangement of her finances; the troubles, internally, which prevail in France, together with the ill-temper she must feel towards England on acct. of the terms lately dictated by the latter; the animosity of Britain and Morocco, in conjunction with several smaller subjects of National discussion, leave but too much ground to apprehend that the tranquility of Europe will not be of long continuance. I hope the United States of America will be able to keep disengaged from the labyrinth of European politics and Wars; and that before long they will, by the adoption of a good national government, have become respectable in the eyes of the world so that none of the maritime Powers, especially none

of those who hold possessions in the New World or the West Indies shall presume to treat them with insult or contempt. It should be the policy of United America to administer to their wants, without being engaged in their quarrels. And it is not in the ability of the proudest and most potent people on earth to prevent us from becoming a great, a respectable and a commercial Nation, if we shall continue United and faithful to ourselves.

Your sollicitude that an efficient and good government may be established in this Country, in order that it may enjoy felicity at home and respectibility abroad serves only to confirm me in the opinion I have always entertained of your disinterested and ardent friendship for this Land of freedom. It is true, that, for the want of a proper Confœderation, we have not yet been in a situation fully to enjoy those blessings which God and Nature seemed to have intended for us. But I begin to look forward, with a kind of political faith, to scenes of National happiness, which have not heretofore been offered for the fruition of the most favoured Nations. The natural political, and moral circumstances of our Nascent empire justify the anticipation. We have an almost unbounded territory whose natural advantages for agriculture and Commerce equal those of any on the globe. In a civil point of view we have unequalled previledge of choosing our own political Institutions and of improving upon the experience of Mankind in the formation of a confœderated government, where due energy will not be incompatible with unalienable rights of freemen. To complete the picture, I may observe, that the information and morals of our Citizens appear to be peculiarly favourable for the introduction of such a plan of government as I have just now described.

Although there were some few things in the Constitution recommended by the Fœderal Convention to the determination of the People, which did not full accord with my wishes; yet, having taken every circumstance seriously into consideration, I was convinced it approached nearer to perfection than any government hitherto instituted among Men. I was also convinced, that nothing but a genuine spirit of amity and accomodation could have induced the members to make those mutual concessions and to sacrafice (at the shrine of enlightened liberty) those local prejudices, which seemed to oppose an insurmountable barrier, to prevent them from harmonising in any system whatsoever.

But so it has happened by the good pleasure of Providence, and the same happy disposition has been diffused and fostered among the people at large. You will permit me to say, that a greater Drama is now acting on this Theatre than has heretofore been brought on the American Stage, or any other in the World. We exhibit at present the Novel and astonishing Spectacle of a whole People deliberating calmly on what form of government will be most conducive to their happiness; and deciding with an unexpected degree of unanimity in favour of a System which they conceive calculated to answer the purpose.

It is only necessary to add for your satisfaction, that, as all the States, which have yet acted and which are ten in number, have adopted the proposed Constitution; and as the concurrence of nine States was sufficient to carry it into effect in the first inste. it is expected the government will be in complete organization and execution before the commencement of the ensuing year.

I failed not, on the receipt of your letter, to make the best arrangements in my power for obtaining the Opossums and birds you mentioned. But I shall not be able to succeed in time

for this conveyance. Having heard of a Male and female Opossum, with several young ones, at the house of one of my friends in Maryland, I sent for them, but unfortunately they were all dead. I may probably be more successful in Autumn.

I please myself with the hope that the impediments which have prevented your visiting America will soon be removed, and that we shall have the satisfaction of witnessing to you personally our veneration for the Patriots of other Countries. In the interim Mrs. Washington desires that I will not fail to blend her best respects with mine for Lady Newenham and yourself. It is with pleasure I sieze occasions to assure you with how much truth I have the honor etc. [M.L.]

To WILLIAM STEPHENS SMITH

Mount Vernon, August 30, 1788.

Dear Sir: I was favoured, a few days ago, with your letter, dated the first day of this Month, in which you obligingly acknowledge the receipt of mine of a former date.

In the dearth of News and Politics at this moment, and especially in my distance from the sources of intelligence, and retirement from the scenes of public life; I should have scarcely any topic of importance enough to trouble you with a letter, but for a *single consideration*. I hope your mind will, upon reading this, have been employed in doing me the justice to anticipate, that my principal object in writing was to assure Mrs. Smith and yourself, Mrs. Washington and I shall be very happy to receive you at Mount Vernon, whensoever you can make your Journey convenient. In the meantime, our United Compliments are cordially offered to both: and I will hasten to conclude myself, with much regard etc.[89]

[89] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

To DANIEL MORGAN

Mount Vernon, August 30, 1788.

Dear Sir: The enclosed came open (in the manner you will receive it) under cover to me, with request that I would add my mite towards the accomplishment of Captn. Cochrans wishes. As it is a *family* watch valued more I presume on that account than for any intrinsic merit it possesses I have no doubt of your disposition to oblige him, on the footing the matter is placed provided it is now in your possession, or in the power of your good Offices to recover, if in the hands of any other.

I have only to add that, in either of the above cases, if I can be made useful in the conveyance, or otherwise, it will give me pleasure and that I am Dear Sir etc.[90]

*To ANNIS BOUDINOT STOCKTON

Mount Vernon, August 31, 1788.

I have received and thank you very sincerely, My dear Madam, for your kind letter of the 3d. instant. It would be in vain for me to think of acknowledging in adequate terms the delicate compliments, which, though expressed in plain prose, are evidently inspired by the elegant Muse of Morvan. I know not by what fatality it happens that even Philosophical sentiments come so much more gracefully (forcibly I might add) from your Sex, than my own. Otherwise I should be strongly disposed to dispute your Epicurean position concerning the œconomy of pleasures. Perhaps, indeed, upon a self-interested principle, because I should be conscious of becoming a gainer by a different practice. For, to tell you the truth, I find myself

[90] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*. (See Washington's letter to Alexander Hamilton, Oct. 18, 1788, *post*.)

altogether interested in establishing in theory, what I feel in effect, that we can never be cloyed with the pleasing compositions of our female friends. You see how selfish I am, and that I am too much delighted with the result to perplex my head much in seeking for the cause. But, with Cicero in speaking respecting his belief of the immortality of the Soul, I will say, if I am in a grateful delusion, it is an innocent one, and I am willing to remain under its influence. Let me only annex one hint to this part of the subject, while you may be in danger of appreciating the qualities of your friend too highly, you will run no hazard in calculating upon his sincerity or in counting implicitly on the reciprocal esteem and friendship which he entertains for yourself.

The felicitations you offer on the present prospect of our public affairs are highly acceptable to me, and I entreat you to receive a reciprocation from my part. I can never trace the concatenation of causes, which led to these events, without acknowledging the mystery and admiring the goodness of Providence. To that superintending Power alone is our retraction from the brink of ruin to be attributed. A spirit of accomodation was happily infused into the leading characters of the Continent, and the minds of men were gradually prepared, by disappointment, for the reception of a good government. Nor would I rob the fairer sex of their share in the glory of a revolution so honorable to human nature, for, indeed, I think you Ladies are in the number of the best Patriots America can boast.

And now that I am speaking of your Sex, I will ask whether they are not capable of doing something towards introducing fœderal fashions and national manners? A good general government, without good morals and good habits, will not make us a happy People; and we shall deceive ourselves if we think it will. A good government will, unquestionably, tend to foster

and confirm those qualities, on which public happiness must be engrafted. Is it not shameful that we should be the sport of European whims and caprices? Should we not blush to discourage our own industry and ingenuity; by purchasing foreign superfluities and adopting fantastic fashions, which are, at best, ill suited to our stage of Society? But I will preach no longer on so unpleasant a subject; because I am persuaded that you and I are both of a Sentiment, and because I fear the promulgation of it would work no reformation.

You know me well enough, my dear Madam, to believe me sufficiently happy at home, to be intent upon spending the residue of my days there. I hope that you and yours may have the enjoyment of your health, as well as Mrs. Washington and myself: that enjoyment, by the divine benediction, adds much to our temporal felicity. She joins with me in desiring our compliments may be made acceptable to yourself and Children. It is with the purest sentiment of regard and esteem I have always the pleasure to subscribe myself Dear Madam, Your etc.[91]

*To THOMAS JOHNSON

Mount Vernon, August 31, 1788.

Dear Sir: I shall be obliged to you for informing me, what foundation there is for so much of the following extract of a letter from Doctr. Brooke at Fredericksburgh, to Doctr. Stuart of this County, as relates to the officious light in which my conduct was viewed for havg. written the letter alluded to.

Since then, I was informed by the Honourable James Mercer, that his Brother Colo. John Mercer, who was at that time (July 10th.) in this town, was furnished with documents to prove, that General Washington

[91] From a facsimile of the original kindly furnished by Frederick S. Peck, of Providence, R. I.

had wrote a letter upon the present Constitution, to Governor Johnson of Maryland; and that Governor Johnson was so much displeased with the officiousness of General Washington, as to induce him to take an active part in bringing about the amendments proposed by a Committee of the Convention of Maryland.

If the letter[92] which I wrote to you at Annapolis, while the Convention of your State was in Session, was so considered, I have only to regret that it ever escaped me. My motives were declared. Having such proofs as were satisfactory to me, that, the intention of the leaders of opposition was to effect an adjournment of your Convention (if a direct attack should be found unlikely to succeed) I conceived that a hint of it could not be displeasing to the Supporters of the proposed Constitution, in which light, as well from a letter I had received from you, as from universal report and belief, I had placed [in] you, for I defy any anti-fœderalist to say, with truth, that I ever wrote to, or exchanged a word with him on the subject of the New Constitution if (the latter) was not forced upon me in a manner not to be avoided. Nothing therefore could be more foreign from my design than to attempt to make proselytes, or to obtrude my opinions with a view to influence the judgment of any one. The first wish of my heart, from the beginning of the business, was, that a dispassionate enquiry, free from sinister and local considerations might, under the existing and impending circumstances of this Country, (which could not be unknown to any Man of observation and reflexion) take place; and an impartial judgment formed of it.

I have no other object, Sir, for making this enquiry than merely to satisfy myself whether the information (for information was all I had in view) was considered by you as an improper interference on my part, or, that the *documents,* and

[92] See Washington's letter to Thomas Johnson, Apr. 20, 1788, *ante.*

interpretation of this matter, by Colo. Mercer, is the effect of one of those mistakes, which he is so apt to fall into.[93] With very great esteem etc.[94]

To DOCTOR THOMAS RUSTON

Mount Vernon, August 31, 1788.

Sir: I have been regularly favored with your letter of the 17th. instant, and am much obliged by your polite congratulations on the ratification of the Constitution by eleven States. Your remark seems to be well founded, that it is much more wonderful so many States should have adopted, than that two only should not as yet have accepted the government. It remains for us to hope [for] the best; and I would fain persuade myself that the same Power, which hath hitherto kept us from Disunion and Anarchy, will not suffer us to be disappointed.

Although I am not personally acquainted with many of the gentlemen who compose the Senate of Maryland, I will, according to your desire, give you introductory letters to some of them. As a new House of Delegates is to be elected before the next Session of Assembly, it might not be so easy for me to know and address any of them, in time.

Ever disposed to testify my regard and esteem for you, I remain, etc.[95]

*To THOMAS JEFFERSON

Mount Vernon, August 31, 1788.

Dear Sir: I was very much gratified by the receipt of your letter, dated the 3d. of May. You have my best thanks for the

[93] Johnson's reply is in the *Washington Papers*. The report was without the slightest foundation.
[94] From a photostat of the original in the *Washington Papers*.
[95] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

political information contained in it, as well as for the satisfactory account of the Canal of Languedoc. It gives me pleasure to be made acquainted with the particulars of that stupendous Work, tho' I do not expect to derive any but speculative advantages from it.

When America will be able to embark in projects of such pecuniary extent, I know not; probably not for very many years to come; but it will be a good example and not without its use, if we can carry our present undertakings happily into effect. Of this we have now the fairest prospect. Notwithstanding the real scarcity of money, and the difficulty of collecting it, the labourers employed by the Potomack Company have made very great progress in removing the obstructions at the Shenandoah, Seneca and Great Falls. Insomuch that, if this Summer had not proved unusually rainy and if we could have had a favourable autumn, the Navigation might have been sufficiently opened (though not completed) for Boats to have passed from Fort Cumberland to within nine miles of a Shipping port by the first of January next. There remains now no doubt of the practicability of the Plan, or that, upon the ulterior operations being performed, this will become the great avenue into the Western Country; a country which is now settg. in an extraordinarily rapid manner, under uncommonly favorable circumstances, and which promises to afford a capacious asylum for the poor and persecuted of the Earth.

I do not pretend to judge how far the flames of war, which are kindled in the North of Europe, may be scattered; or how soon they will be extinguished. The European politics have taken so strange a turn, and the Nations formerly allied have become so curiously severed, that there are fewer sure premises for calculation, than are usually afforded, even on that precarious and doubtful subject. But it appears probable to me,

that peace will either take place this year, or hostility be greatly extended in the course of the next. The want of a hearty co-operation between the two Imperial Powers against the Porte; or the failure of success from any other cause, may accelerate the first contingency; the irritable state into wch. several of the other Potentates seem to have been drawn, may open the way to the secd. Hitherto the event of the contest has proved different from the general expectation. If, in our speculations, we might count upon discipline, system and resource, and certainly these are the articles which generally give decisive advantages in War, I had thought full-surely the Turks must, at least, have been driven out of Europe.

Is it not unaccountable that the Russians and Germans combined, are not able to effect so much, as the former did alone in the late War? But perhaps these things are all for the best and may afford room for pacification. I am glad our Commodore Paul Jones has got employment,[96] and heartily wish him success. His new situation may possibly render his talents and services more useful to us at some future day. I was unapprised of the circumstances which you mention, that Congress had once in contemplation to give him promotion. They will judge now how far it may be expedient.[97]

By what we can learn from the late foreign Gazettes, affairs seem to have come to a crisis in France; and I hope they are beginning to meliorate. Should the contest between the King and the Parliaments result in a well constituted National Assembly, it might ultimately be a happy event for the kingdom. But I fear that Kingdom will not recover its reputation and

[96] With the Empress of Russia.

[97] Jefferson had written (May 3): "I believe Congress had it in contemplation to give him the grade of Admiral from the date of his taking the Serapis. Such a measure now would grately gratify him, second the efforts of fortune in his favor and better the opportunities of improving him for our service whenever the moment shall come in which we may want him." Jefferson's letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

influence with the Dutch for a long time to come. Combinations appear also to be forming in other quarters. It is reported by the last European accounts that England has actually entered into a Treaty with Prussia; and that the French Ambassador at the Court of London has asked to be informed of its tenor. In whatever manner the Nations of Europe shall endeavor to keep up their prowess in war and their ballance of power in peace, it will be obviously our policy to cultivate tranquility at home and abroad; and extend our agriculture and commerce as far as possible.

I am much obliged by the information you give respecting the credit of different Nations among the Dutch Money-holders; and fully accord with you with regard to the manner in which our own ought to be used. I am strongly impressed with the expediency of establishing our National faith beyond imputation, and of having recourse to loans only on critical occasions. Your proposal for transferring the whole foreign debt to Holland is highly worthy of consideration. I feel mortified that there should have been any just grd. for the clamour of the foreign Officers who served with us; but, after having received a quarter of their whole debt in specie and their interest in the same for sometime, they have infinitely less reason for complaint than our native Officers, of whom the suffering and neglect have only been equalled by their patience and patriotism. A great proportion of the Officers and Soldiers of the American Army have been compelled by indigence to part with their securities for one eighth of the nominal value. Yet their conduct is very different from what you represented that of the French Officers to have been.

The merits and defects of the proposed Constitution have been largely and ably discussed. For myself, I was ready to have embraced any tolerable compromise that was competent

to save us from impending ruin; and I can say, there are scarcely any of the amendments which have been suggested, to which I have *much* objection, except that which goes to the prevention of direct taxation; and that, I presume, will be more strenuously advocated and insisted upon hereafter, than any other. I had indulged the expectation, that the New Government would enable those entrusted with its Administration to do justice to the public creditors and retrieve the National character. But if no means are to be employed but requisitions, that expectation was vain and we may as well recur to the old Confœderation. If the system can be put in operation without touching much the Pockets of the People, perhaps, it may be done; but, in my judgment, infinite circumspection and prudence are yet necessary in the experiment. It is nearly impossible for anybody who has not been on the spot to conceive (from any description) what the delicacy and danger of our situation have been. Though the peril is not past entirely; thank God! the prospect is somewhat brightening.

You will probably have heard before the receipt of this letter, that the general government has been adopted by eleven States; and that the actual Congress have been prevented from issuing their ordinance for carrying it into execution, in consequence of a dispute about the place at which the future Congress shall meet. It is probable that Philadelphia or New York will soon be agreed upon.

I will just touch on the bright side of our national State, before I conclude: and we may perhaps rejoice that the People have been ripened by misfortune for the reception of a good government. They are emerging from the gulf of dissipation and debt into which they had precipitated themselves at the close of the war. Œconomy and industry are evidently gaining ground. Not only Agriculture; but even Manufactures are

much more attended to than formerly. Notwithstanding the shackles under which our trade in general labours; commerce to the East Indies is prosecuted with considerable success: Salted provisions and other produce (particularly from Massachusetts) have found an advantageous market there. The Voyages are so much shorter and the vessels are navigated at so much less expence, that we hope to rival and supply (at least through the West Indies) some part of Europe, with commodities from thence. This year the exports from Massachusetts have amounted to a great deal more than their exports [*sic*]. I wish this was the case everywhere.

On the subject of our Commerce with France, I have received several quæries from the Count de Moustiers; besides the information he desired relative to articles of importation from and exportation to France, he wished to know my opinion of the advantage or detriment of the Contract between Mr. Morris and the Farm;[98] as also what emoluments we had to to give in return for the favors we solicited in our intercourse with the Islands. As I knew that these topics were also in agitation in France, I gave him the most faithful and satisfactory advice I could: but in such a cautious manner as might not be likely to contradict your assertions or impede your negotiations in Europe. With sentiments of the highest regard etc.[99]

To THOMAS BARCLAY

Mount Vernon, August 31, 1788.

Sir: I have received a letter from a Doctr. Thomas [Thomson], of Westmoreland in this State, requesting me to make enquiries respecting Dr. Spence and his Lady, who were supposed

[98] Farmers General.
[99] From the original in the *Jefferson Papers* in the Library of Congress.

to be lost at sea, several years ago, and who are now reported to be in slavery among the piratical States of Barbary.

As I know of no person more likely to give information on the subject than yourself, I have taken the liberty of enclosing to you the Abstract of a narrative made by James Joshua Reynolds at Greenock, and sent to me by Doctr. Thomson.

Now, Sir, it will be conferring a great obligation upon a distressed family (for Doctr. Thomson married the mother of Dr. Spence) if you can give any certain advice, whether such a ship as described ever sailed from Philadelphia and was captured by Pirates, or missing; whether there is any such man as Israel Jacobs in Philadelphia, who has negotiated the ransom of any person in captivity; whether Doctr. Spence or any of the crew or Passengers in question were ever heard of by you while on your public Mission; and, in fine, whether, in your knowledge or Judgement, any credit is to be given to the report; for myself, I am apprehensive, from the circumstances, the story is only calculated to sport with the feelings of the Unhappy. I heartily wish it may not be so.

An early and full answer from you will not only be extremely grateful to the persons on whose account I write; but also very acceptable to Sir Yrs. etc.[1]

To WILLIAM PIERCE[2]

Mount Vernon, September 1, 1788.

Sir: I am happy to find that the same patriotic sentiments have been displayed, though[out] the Union, by the Citizens of America and particularly by those who were formerly members of the Army, on the XII Anniversary of Independence.

[1]From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.
[2]Of Savannah, Ga. He was formerly aide-de-camp to General Greene.

That you might not apprehend your letter of the 1st. of August, had miscarried through the great distance of the way, or that I had received your agreeable Present without feeling a due sense of the favour; I have concluded to take an early opportunity of rendering my best acknowledgments for your Oration and of assuring you that. I am, etc.[3]

To JOHN SULLIVAN

Mount Vernon, September 1, 1788.

Sir: It is with great personal satisfaction, I receive the Congratulations of the Society of the Cincinnati in New Hampshire, on the present State of our public Affairs. I shall take care to convey the Instrument expressive of their sentiments to the Secretary of the general Meeting, that, being deposited in the Archives, the purport may be made known accordingly.[4]

The prevalence of so good dispositions, from one extremity of the Continent to the other (with few exceptions) seems indeed to afford a subject of mutual felicitations, to all who delight in their Country's prosperity. But the idea, that my former gallant Associates in the field are now about to receive, in a good national government, some compensation for the toils and dangers which they experienced in the course of a long and perilous war, is particularly consolatory to me.

I entreat that the Members of your State Society will believe that I interest myself much in their prosperity, and that you will accept the professions of sincere regard and esteem, with which I have the honor, etc.[3]

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[3] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

[4] On September 10 Washington forwarded this congratulatory address to Henry Knox, in a brief note, which is in the "Letter Book" in the *Washington Papers*. The present whereabouts of the address is unknown, but the text is printed in the *Historical Magazine*, second series, vol. 9, p. 116. The originals of this letter to Sullivan and the brief note to Knox are in the possession of the New Hampshire Society of the Cincinnati.

To WILLIAM BARTON

Mount Vernon, September 7, 1788.

Sir: At the same time I announce to you the receipt of your obliging letter of the 28th of last month,[5] which covered an ingenious essay on *Heraldry,* I have to acknowledge my obligations for the sentiments your partiality has been indulgent enough to form of me, and my thanks for the terms in which your urbanity has been pleased to express them.

Imperfectly acquainted with the subject, as I profess myself to be, and persuaded of your skill as I am, it is far from my design to intimate an opinion, that heraldry, coat-armour, &c., might not be rendered conducive to public and private uses with us; or that they can have any tendency unfriendly to the purest spirit of republicanism. On the contrary, a different conclusion is deducible from the practice of Congress and the States; all of which have established some kind of *Armorial Devices* to authenticate their official instruments. But, Sir, you must be sensible, that political sentiments are very various among the people in the several States, and that a formidable opposition to what appears to be the prevailing sense of the Union is but just declining into peaceable acquiescence. While, therefore, the minds of a certain portion of the community (possibly from turbulent or sinister views) are, or affect to be, haunted with the very spectre of innovation; while they are indefatigably striving to make the credulity of the less informed part of the citizens subservient to their schemes, in believing that the proposed general government is pregnant with the seeds of discrimination, oligarchy, and despotism; while they are clamorously endeavouring to propagate an idea, that those, whom they wish invidiously to designate by the name of the

[5] In the *Washington Papers.*

"well-born" are meditating in the first instance to distinguish themselves from their compatriots, and to wrest the dearest privileges from the bulk of the people; and while the apprehensions of some, who have demonstrated themselves the sincere, but too jealous, friends of liberty, are feelingly alive to the effects of the actual revolution, and too much inclined to coincide with the prejudices above described; it might not, perhaps, be advisable to stir any question that would tend to reanimate the dying embers of faction, or blow the dormant spark of jealousy into an inextinguishable flame. I need not say, that the deplorable consequences would be the same, allowing there should be no real foundation for jealousy, in the judgment of sober reason, as if there were demonstrable, even palpable, causes for it.

I make these observations with the greater freedom, because I have once been a witness to what I conceived to have been a most unreasonable prejudice against an innocent institution, I mean the Society of the Cincinnati. I was conscious, that my own proceedings on that subject were immaculate. I was also convinced, that the members, actuated by motives of sensibility, charity, and patriotism, were doing a laudable thing, in erecting that memorial of their common services, sufferings, and friendships; and I had not the most remote suspicion, that our conduct therein would have been unprofitable, or unpleasing, to our countrymen. Yet have we been virulently traduced, as to our designs; and I have not even escaped being represented as short-sighted in not foreseeing the consequences, or wanting in patriotism for not discouraging an establishment calculated to create distinctions in society, and subvert the principles of a republication government. Indeed, the phantom seems now to be pretty well laid; except on certain occasions, when it is conjured up by designing men, to work their own

purposes upon terrified imaginations. You will recollect there have not been wanting, in the late political discussions, those, who were hardy enought to assert, that the proposed general government was the wicked and traitorous fabrication of the Cincinnati.

At this moment of general agitation and earnest solicitude, I should not be surprised to hear a violent outcry raised, by those who are hostile to the new constitution, that the proposition contained in your paper had verified their suspicions, and proved the design of establishing unjustifiable discriminations. I remain with great esteem etc.[6]

To THOMAS SMITH

Mount Vernon, September 15, 1788.

Sir: Your favour of the 6th. Ult. came duly to hand and I beg you to accept my thanks for the trouble you have had in collecting my money and for the punctuality and dispatch with which you have transacted my business. The Sum of £50.0.2 sent to Colo Biddle got safe; and the receipt of it is acknowledged by him in a letter to me. It is far, very far indeed, Sir, from my wish that you should make good the Counterfeit money which you received on my account; the Act of receiving it in the manner you do is confering a favour on me; to be made liable for the accidents which may attend the doing it, would, if I could do it, be worse than ungenerous, it would be unjust. I therefore request that you would deduct the Sum of £7..6..8 from your next Account. Colo. Biddle could do no less than refuse it, but in doing so he has done more than I wished.

I would thank you for giving the enclosed a safe conveyance. Colo Cannon is vested with the care of my Landed property in

[6]From a copy in the Toner Transcripts in the Library of Congress.

the Counties of Fayette and Washington but owing to miscarriages of letters, or other causes, I have heard nothing from him for more than 15 Months, and am ignorant of the Situation in which my tenements are. Letters sent by way of Philadelphia will always come safe, it is somewhat strange therefore to be so long without one from him. with very great esteem etc.[7]

To JOHN CANNON

Mount Vernon, September 15, 1788.

Sir: As I have not received a line from you for more than fifteen months, and am altogether in the dark respecting the business which was committed to your care. I would thank you for information respecting the tenements, the Rents &ca. of my Lands in Fayette and Washington Counties. And, as the latter, that is the Rents, may have been received in specific articles I should be glad to know they are disposed off. Letters Lodged at the Post Office (and I believe one is now established from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh) will come safe, by private hands they rarely do, and any money which may have arisen from the Rents or the produce of them, Mr. Smith, I am certain, will undertake if committed to his care, to forward to me.

If any proposals have been made to you for purchasing either, or part of the above tracts, I should be glad to know on what terms. As also to whom they are now tenanted and what the Rents are. I am, etc.[7]

To SAMUEL POWEL

Mount Vernon, September 15, 1788.

Dear Sir: It was many days after the rect. of your obliging favour of the 9th. Ult. by the Post, that Capt. Ellwood arrived

[7] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers.*

in the Packet. He brought the Chair[8] very safe, and you and Mrs. Powel have the thanks of Mrs. Washington and myself for the trouble you have had in procuring it. I think it neat and handsome, and with some additions which I will take the liberty sometime hence of proposing (such as can easily be inserted) they may be made to suit the colour and furniture of the Room for which they are intended, as well as a chair of quadruple their cost. In the meantime I have requested Colo. Biddle, who does business for me in Philadelphia to pay the cost of the one which you have sent me.

I have not been more lucky in my Sainfoin Seed than you were. Though one would not judge so from the appearance, it is a tender seed; of my first sown last Autumn, a few vegitated and came up, but were destroyed by the frost; of those reserved till the spring seeding not one ever appeared above ground, and *now* I have not a single plant of this grass growing. I have never seen Winlaws threshing Machine, but as the acct. of its utility is contained in Youngs Annals of Agriculture, I have requested that Gentleman, if from his *own* experience, or that of others in whose judgment he can *entirely* confide, it is not (as most of these things are) too complicated for common and unskilful labourers, or the mere vision of the hour, and pass away like it, to send me one.

The present Congress, by its *great* indecision in fixing on a place at which the New Congress is to convene, have hung the expectations, and patience of the Union on tenter hooks, and thereby (if further evidence has been necessary) given a fresh instance of the unfitness of a body so constituted to regulate with energy and precision the Affairs of such an extensive Empire. In every good wish for Mr. Powel and yourself I am joined by Mrs. Washington and with great esteem, etc.[9]

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[8] An arm chair which Washington wanted for a model.
[9] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

To WILLIAM BEAN[10]

Mount Vernon, September 15, 1788.

Sir: Your letter of the 28th. of August came safe to my hands.

A Colo. Cannon of Washington County, the county adjoining to that in which the land you express a desire to purchase lays, is authorised to sell the whole tract; which consists, of between 16 and 1700 Acres. The price fixed upon it is 40/ pr. Acre estimating dollars at 7/6. One fourth to be paid down, the other 3/4 in annual Payments with Interest. The whole tract is good, but some parts better than others; and near the Mill indeed within 30 yards of the House there is, in my opinion, the greatest appearance of a valuable Mine bank I have ever seen. If the price, and terms of payment are approved, it would be better for you and your Brother in law, and others if you chose to admit more, to take the whole tract; for if I divide it the price of the parts will be proportioned to the quality of the Soil, and value of the improvements. I am, etc.[11]

To CLEMENT BIDDLE

Mount Vernon, September 16, 1788.

Dear Sir: I have your letters of the 24th. Ulto. and the 5th. inst. now before me. The articles sent by Captn. Ellwood arrived safe and agreeable to the invoice. If you have not already purchased the Winter Barley I would not wish you to do it, for I think it is very probable that I may be able to get the quantity which I shall want of the Brewer in Alexandria in exchange for Spring Barley, or if I should be disappointed there, that I

[10] Of Nottingham, Cecil County, Md.
[11] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers.*

can obtain it upon better terms and perhaps of a better quality upon James River than at Philadelphia, as you observe that the crops of it have generally failed, and none has yet been seen that is fit for seed.

I should be glad to have the Herrings and Shad which are in your hands disposed of if it can be done without making an unreasonable sacrifice of them, that you may receive the Balance which is due upon your acct. and have money of mine in your hands to procure any articles that I may have occasion for from Philadelphia; should you not be able to dispose of them immediately I will remit you a Bank note.

I will thank you to pay Samuel Powell Esqr. for a chair which he was so good as to procure for me as a pattern. With great esteem, I am etc.

P. S. You will oblige me by forwarding the inclosed letter to Mr. Smith.[12] [H. S. P.]

To JOHN LEWIS

Mount Vernon, September 16, 1788.

Dear Sir: I have to acknowledge the reception of your letter of the 15th. of December 1787 together with the copy of my account inclosed therein, since which time I have received the two inclosed letters from Mr. John Cowper expressing a desire to purchase the tract of Land in No. Carolina which was the joint property of your father Colo. Fielding Lewis and myself. These two letters, together with my answer to the first (a copy of which is also inclosed) will shew you upon what footing the matter now stands with respect to me. I will thank you to let me know, as soon as is convenient, your determination

[12] In the writing of Tobias Lear.

respecting the sale of this land that I may give Mr. Cowper a decided answer.

I will be much oblige to you if you will look among your fathers papers for a protested Bill of Exchange drawn by the Execurs. of William Armisted Esqr. I am almost certain it was among other matters committed to his care to transact for me at the General Court of May 1775, when I was called off to the northward.

I will likewise thank you for the amount of those charges in my Acct. which are not extended that I may see how the Balance stands.

Mrs. Washington joins her best wishes for you, and those of your Family. I am, etc.[13]

To THOMAS PETERS

Mount Vernon, September 16, 1788.

Sir: I have some Spring Barley for sale, and if you incline to buy it, would be glad to know what you will give delivered at my landing; or if this is not convenient for you what your price at Baltimore.

It is raised from seed which Colo. Biddle of Philadelphia procured for me from a Mr. Haynes a Brewer of that City; who had it (I am informed) from Rhode Island. It is, which I did not discover till growing, mixed, in a small degree, with oats. I mention it for the sake of plain dealing, and not because I am told it is a common case, and because it is generally so this year in the Eastern[14] States.

Your answer by the first post will much oblige, Sir, Yr. etc.[15]

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[13] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

[14] Mutilated. The word "Eastern" is supplied from the "Letter Book."

[15] In the writing of Tobias Lear. From the original in the possession of the Mount Vernon Ladies' Association of the Union.

To DOCTOR THOMAS THOMSON

Mount Vernon, September 18, 1788.

Sir: The enclosed, which I have just received, is so full on the subject of your enquiry that I shall add nothing thereto.[16] Although I am sorry, and feel for the disappointed hopes of your Lady to recover her lost Son, yet I am glad that it is in my power to remove, as soon as possible the painful suspence which the Impositions of Reynolds must have thrown her and the family into. I am, etc.[17]

To HENRY LEE

Mount Vernon, September 22, 1788.

Dear Sir: Your letter of the 13th. instant was of so friendly and confidential a complexion, as to merit my early attention and cordial acknowledgments. I am glad Congress have at last decided upon an Ordinance for carrying the new government into execution. In my mind the place for the meeting of the new Congress was not an object of such very important consequence; but I greatly fear that the question entailed upon that body, respecting their permanent residence, will be pregnant with difficulty and danger. God grant that true patriotism and a spirit of moderation may exclude a narrow locality, and all ideas unfriendly to the Union, from every quarter.

Your observations on the solemnity of the crisis and its application to myself, bring before me subjects of the most momentous and interesting nature. In our endeavors to establish a new general government, the contest nationally considered, seems

[16] On September 18 Washington acknowledged briefly to Thomas Barclay the information which he sent to Doctor Thomson as stated in this letter.

[17] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

not to have been so much for glory, as existence. It was for a long time doubtful whether we were to survive as an independent Republic, or decline from our fœderal dignity into insignificant and wretched Fragments of Empire. The adoption of the Constitution so extensively, and with so liberal an acquiescence on the part of the Minorities in general, promised the former; until lately the circular letter of New York carried, in my apprehension, an unfavorable if not an insidious tendency to a contrary policy. I still hope for the best; but before you mentioned it, I could not help fearing it would serve as a Standard to which the disaffected might resort. It is now evidently the part of all honest men, who are friends to the new Constitution, to endeavor to give it a chance to disclose its merits and defects, by carrying it fairly into effect, in the first instance. For it is to be apprehended, that by an attempt, to obtain amendments before the experiment has been candidly made, " more is meant than meets the ear " that an intention is concealed, to accomplish slily, what could not have been done openly, to undo all that has been done.

If the fact so exists, that a kind of combination is forming to stifle the government in embrio; it is a happy circumstance that the design has become suspected. Preparations should be the sure attendant upon forewarning. Probably, prudence, wisdom, and patriotism were never more essentially necessary than at the present moment; and so far as it can be done in an irreproachably direct manner, no effort ought to be left unessayed to procure the election of the best possible characters to the new Congress. On their harmony, deliberation and decision every thing will depend. I heartily wish Mr. Madison was in our Assembly, as I think, with you, it is of unspeakable importance Virginia should set out in her fœderal measures under right auspices.

The principal topic of your letter is, to me, a point of great delicacy indeed; insomuch that I can scarcely, without some impropriety touch upon it. In the first place, the event to which you allude may never happen; among other reasons because, if the partiality of my fellow citizens conceive it to be a means by which the sinews of the new government would be strengthened, it will of consequence be obnoxious to those who are in opposition to it, many of whom, unquestionably will be placed among the Electors.

This consideration alone would supersede the expediency of announcing any definite and irrevocable resolution. You are among the small number of those who know my invincible attachment to domestic life, and that my sincerest wish is to continue in the enjoyment of it, solely, until my final hour. But the world would be neither so well instructed, nor so candidly disposed as to believe me uninfluenced by sinister motives, in case any circumstance should render a deviation from the line of conduct I had prescribed to myself indispensable.

Should the contingency you suggest take place, and (for argument sake alone let me say it) should my unfeigned reluctance to accept the office be overcome by a deference for the reasons and opinions of my friends; might I not, after the Declarations I have made (and Heaven knows they were made in the sincerity of my heart) in the judgment of the impartial World and of Posterity, be chargeable with levity and inconsistency; if not with rashness and ambition? Nay farther would there not even be some apparent foundation for the two former charges? Now justice to myself and tranquillity of conscience require that I should act a part, if not above imputation, at least capable of vindication. Nor will you conceive me to be too solicitous for reputation. Though I prize, as I ought, the good opinion of my fellow citizens; yet, if I know myself, I would not seek or retain popularity at the expense of one social duty or moral virtue.

While doing what my conscience informed me was right, as it respected my God, my Country and myself, I could despise all the party clamor and unjust censure, which must be expected from some, whose personal enmity might be occasioned by their hostility to the government. I am conscious, that I fear alone to give any real occasion for obloquy, and that I do not dread to meet with unmerited reproach. And certain I am, whensoever I shall be convinced the good of my country requires my reputation to be put in risque; regard for my own fame will not come in competition with an object of so much magnitude. If I declined the task, it would lie upon quite another principle. Notwithstanding my advanced season of life, my encreasing fondness for agricultural amusements and my growing love of retirement augment and confirm my decided predilection for the character of a private citizen: yet it would be no one of these motives, nor the hazard to which my former reputation might be exposed, or the terror of encountering new fatigues and troubles that would deter me from an acceptance; but a belief that some other person, who had less pretence and less inclination to be excused, could execute all the duties full as satisfactorily as myself. To say more would be indiscreet; as a disclosure of a refusal beforehand, might incur the application of the Fable, in which the Fox is represented as undervaluing the grapes he could not reach. You will perceive, my dear Sir, by what is here observed (and which you will be pleased to consider in the light of a confidential communication) that my inclinations will dispose and decide me to remain as I am; unless a clear and insurmountable conviction should be impressed on my mind that some very disagreeable consequences must in all human probability result from the indulgence of my wishes.

If you return by land, I shall expect without failure the pleasure of your company. I am much indebted to you for your obliging offer of forwarding such articles as I might want from New York; though I shall not have occasion at this moment to avail myself of your goodness. Mrs. Washington offers her best Complts. to Mrs. Lee, with ardent wishes for the re-establishment of her health which, joined with my own, will conclude me. With great regard etc.[18]

*To SAMUEL POWEL

Mount Vernon, September 23, 1788.

Dear Sir: Although I had not forgot the promise I made you, respecting the Spanish Chestnuts, yet I am glad you have reminded me of it as we have the pleasure of knowing, from your letter, that Mrs. Powell and yourself were well. I am sorry to add, however, that though the prospect of an abundant crop of these Nuts was once great, appearances are now against it. Whether to the uncommonly wet Summer or to what other cause to attribute it I know not; but the fact is that as fast as the Burs get to a certain size they drop immaturely from the trees. Whether this will continue to be the case now the weather has grown drier I am unable to decide; but this you may be assured of: Participation.

The Proclamation of His Britanic Majesty and the publication of the Executive Council of your State, I have seen. The former seem unwilling to receive any part of their own bounty, whilst the latter are encouraging them not to be affraid of it.

I am glad Congress have at *last,* decided upon an Ordinance for carrying the New government into execution. The patience

[18] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers.*

of the Union was too long tried on a question of so temporary a nature.

Mrs. Washington and all under this roof unite with me in every good wish for Mrs. Powell and yourself; and with sentiments of great esteem I am etc. [H.S.P.]

To JAMES MADISON

Mount Vernon, September 23, 1788.

My dear Sir: I duly received your letter of the 24th of last Month, but as we had no intelligence or circumstance in this quarter worthy of your acceptance, I postponed even the acknowledgement until I was gratifyed by the receipt of your subsequent favor of the 14th instant. Indeed I have now little more to give you in return, than this information to prevent your apprehension of miscarriage; and my thanks for your illustration of the subject which has lately engaged the attention of Congress. Upon mature reflection, I think the reasons you offer in favor of Philadelphia as the place for the first Meeting of Congress are conclusive: especially when the farther agitation of the question respecting its permanent residence is taken into consideration. But I cannot, however, avoid being satisfied that the Minority should have acquiesced in any place, rather than to have prevented the system from being carried into effect. The delay had already become the source of clamours and might have given advantages to the Anti-fœderalists. Their expedient will now probably be an attempt to procure the Election of so many of their own Junto under the New government, as, by the introduction of local and embarrassing disputes, to impede or frustrate its operations.

In the mean time it behoves all the advocates of the Constitution, forgetting partial and smaller considerations, to combine

their exertions for collecting the wisdom and virtue of the Continent to one centre; in order that the Republic may avail itself of the opportunity for escaping from Anarchy, Division, and the other great national calamities that impended. To be shipwrecked in sight of the Port would be the severest of all possible aggravations to our Misery; and I assure you I am under painful apprehensions from the single circumstance of Mr. H—'s[19] having the whole game to play in the Assembly of this State, and the effect it may have on others, it should be counteracted if possible. With sentiments of highest esteem etc.

P. S. Permit me to request the favor of you to forward the Letters under cover with this by a favourable conveyance.[20]

To N—— DU BEY

Mount Vernon, September 27, 1788.

Sir: The letter which you were pleased to write to me from Philadelphia the 11th. of this instt. came duly to hand. I wish it was in my power to answer your queries satisfactorily but the little connection I have of late had with the affairs of the western Country does not enable me to give in detail an account of the settlements in the vicinity of your Lands (between the Great and little Kanhawa), or to point out the best mode by which you could seat and improve them.

In general I have understood that a capitol establishment of very respectable people is now making with great rapidity under uncommonly favourable auspices at the mouth of the Muskingham (west of the Ohio) about 10 Miles above the little Kanhawa, and that at the mouth of the great Kanhawa a town

[19] Patrick Henry.

[20] From the text printed in the sales catalogue of the *Washington-Madison Papers* (McGuire Collection, 1892).

is laid off and Settlements forming; but to what extent, or under what circumstances it is not in my power to inform you. The lands between the two Kanhawas (East side) on the River Ohio are (though exceedingly fine) almost entirely unimproved being the property of Officers who do not incline to live on them themselves and who have taken no pains to obtain others to do it. This, hitherto, has been the case with my own. My wish, if my price could be obtained, is to sell and knowing that to encumber the Land with Leases might be a bar to it, and without giving them I could not expect reputable characters would improve them, are the causes of their laying dormant so long. I have lately however empowered a Gentleman who lives at the mouth of the Great Kanhawa (Colo Thomas Lewis) to Lease them to such as may apply, being informed that many were desirous of settling on them with this security. With respect to the mode which would be best for you, and your associates to adopt to effect the settlement of your Land, which you say adjoins mine, I know not, the hazard and the cost of importing Emigrants, and the terms on which they are to be engaged, depend upon calculation, and other circumstances with which I am not acquainted, and which falls more within the reach of your own investigation than mine and however easy and expedient it may be for Foreigners to accomplish this with their country men by their attentions, personal influence &c. it might prove a precarious and expensive mode for me to pursue and is such an one as I have had no inclination to adopt. The only advice I would presume to give you on this occasion, is, if settlers are brought from Switzerland or any foreign Country, to make your contracts with them certain before the expence of Transportation is incurred. If the question respecting "The kind of Lands" is confined to your own purchase, I can make

no answer because I never saw them. The interval lands on the River, is equal to any in the world.

I do not conceive that any danger is to be apprehended from the Savages by Settlers on these Lands. 1st. because they are on the East side of the Ohio to which they have no pretensions. 2d. because very formidable settlements will soon be made on the west side of it above, below, and opposite to them which will form a barrier, and 3dly because a general treaty with the several tribes of Indians in that country is now about to be holden, by which it is to be presumed matters will be so fixed as to prevent hostilities in future. I am, etc.[21]

To REVEREND FRANCIS ADRIAN VANDERKEMP

Mount Vernon, September 27, 1788.

Sir: The letter with which you was pleased to favor me dated the 29th. of Augt. came duly to hand, and afforded me the pleasure of hearing that you had made a purchase agreeable to your wishes in the vicinity of Esopus. I sincerely hope that it may prove an agreeable retreat, and a happy Asylum from your late troubles in Holland.

The Mangal Root which you saw growing in my Garden is not, I believe, of the best sort, it was as you have observed red. That which is marbled, I am told, is the best. If of this kind the Revd. Dr. Doll could spare a little seed it would oblige me, and when you shall be stocked with such other sorts of seed as are not usual in this Country, I would gladly participate in your sparings.

Mrs. Washington joins me in best wishes for you Mrs. Vanderkemp family, and I am etc.[1]

[21] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

To SAMUEL MILFORD

Mount Vernon, September 29, 1788.

Sir: The letter which you wrote to me from Richmond on the 24th. Instt. came duly to hand. Was it in my power to give you information with respect to the circumstances attending Major Polson's[22] Land, or satisfactory answers to the quæries he has propounded on this subject, I would do it with pleasure. But the truth is, I know not a little more of the matter than you are already made acquainted with by his own letter dated in London the 26th. of July which you enclosed to me and is now returned.

I was, I believe, the principal cause of his, and others getting the Lands which were granted to the officers and Solders of the Virginia Regiment raised in 1754 agreeably to a Proclamation of the then Governor of this State but after the proportions were assigned to each individual and the Patents were obtained, in the year 1772, I had no further agency in the business; and know no more what the Attorney of Major Polson did with his dividend of the Land than you do.

The readiest, indeed the only means that occurs to me, by which you can get certain information on this head, is to apply to the *Executors,* or *administrators* of Mr. Craig. A Clue may thereby be found for tracing this business fully. Who his Executors are I know not; but as Mr. Craig lived in Williamsburg and moved in a small circle, it is highly probable they are residents of that place also.

Being in company with a Gentleman eminent in the Law when your letter, enclosing Mr. Polson's to me came to hand I

[22] John Polson.

asked his opinion of property belonging to persons under the description Major Polson gives of himself; his answer was; that as that Gentleman was not a Citizen of this State, did not leave it in consequence of the dispute with great Britain, nor bore Arms in America against the *United States* during the contest, it is not likely that his property is comprehended in any Confiscation Law of this Commonwealth. I am of the same opinion, but one mode by which the matter can be ascertained if there is no office of Registry to resort to at Richmond is for you or some person who is acquainted with these *Laws,* the spirit, and tendency of them to read them attentively compare them with case of Major Polson and see whether by name, or description he is included or excluded. I never read one of them, nor have them by me, nor moreover am I acquainted with any of the proceedings respecting this business.

There is another predicament, however, under which Major Polsons Lands may have fallen. It is common to every one, and the Public Gazettes announce the frequency of it. I mean the disposal of the Land, or part of it, for payment of the Taxes to which it is subject. Scores of these Sales are advertised weekly in Dixons Virginia Gazette and Independt. Chronicle, agreeably to Law, that the proprietors of the Land may be notified thereof; and prevent by timely payment, if they are able, and incline so to do, the *actual* Sale. Whether this has been the case with Major Polsons Land or not, can only be known by a recurrence to and research of those papers. I have never attended to the matter myself and therefore can give neither you, nor him any information respecting it. The Land lays, I believe in the County of Greenbrier (or Botetourt) and will be found if in this predicament, advertised by the Sheriff thereof.

Major Polson in his letter to me, requests that I would point out a proper Attorney to transact the business for him. This I am unable to do. The lands (by the common routs to it) lays at least 500 hundred [*sic*] miles from me. I have Lands in the vicinity of his, and have not, as yet found, a settler convenient to them, able, or willing to take the management. The only person who was recommended to me for this purpose (Colo. Thomas Lewis) has given me no answer to my applications on this head though the first was made near twelve months ago to him. I mention this circumstance to shew the difficulty of procuring, and the danger of recommending a proper character to Major Polson. To me it would seem best for the Major to appoint some person in Richmond (being the residence of the public officers and the resort of People from all parts of the State) as his Attorney; empowering him (if the Property is unalienated) to sell, Seat, or in any other manner (agreeable to his wishes) dispose of the Land. Who are of his acquaintance at that place or who would be a proper person there for this business I really know not as I rarely go there. Men and things in this State are greatly changed since my acquaintance with them (now almost 15 years ago), for I have been very little from home since my retreat from public life, the beginning of the year 1784, to acquire fresh knowledge of them.

I have been thus particular to you because such information and advice as this letter contains, going *through* you to the Major, with the short letter herewith enclosed to himself[23] will answer the purpose of a repetition of the same sentiments in a second letter. I therefore pray you to accompany my letter to him with a copy of this to you. I am, etc.[24]

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[23] Not now found in the *Washington Papers*.
[24] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

To THE MARQUIS DE BOUILLÉ[25]

Mount Vernon, October 1, 1788.

Sir: The letter introductory of Mr. Chastel de la Vallee, which you did me the honor to write to me on the 6th. of May,[26] has been forwarded by him since his arrival in America; with information that his affairs would detain him some little time in Philadelphia, I have written to him in return, that I shall be very happy to receive him, with marks of regard, at Mount Vernon; whensoever he can make his journey commodiously for himself.

In the meantime I would not delay to acknowledge the receipt of your letter and to assure you that your recommendation will ever have the force of a command with me: being always desirous of demonstrating with how high consideration and esteem, I have the honor, etc.[27]

To THOMAS LEWIS

Mount Vernon, October 2, 1788.

Sir: I wrote to you in December last requesting that you would be so good as to assist me in procuring tenants for, and settling of my lands on the Great Kanhawa and Ohio, and at the same time vested you with full power for that purpose upon the terms which I mentioned, and which I had understood was the custom of that Country. This letter was, at Richmond, committed to the Care of a Mr. Clandenning who lives in

[25] François Claude Amour, Marquis de Bouillé.

[26] Not now found in the *Washington Papers.*

[27] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers.*

On October 1 Washington wrote briefly to La Vallee, inviting him to Mount Vernon. A copy of this letter is in the "Letter Book" in the *Washington Papers.* La Vallee is not mentioned in Washington "Diaries."

Greenbrier County and who promised to have it safely conveyed to you. In June last the Gentleman who delivered it to Mr. Clandenning was informed by him that you had received it. A Duplicate of it was likewise committed to the care of your Brother Colo. Andrew Lewis in May, to be forwarded to you; and as I have never received an answer from you I cannot but impute it to the miscarriage of your letters; I must therefore beg that you will, without fail and as soon as possible, let me know your determination with respect to your accepting the trust, and if you incline to act for me, give me some information respecting the circumstances and situations of my Lands in your neighbourhood, for I am at present totally in the dark with regard to them, except so far as relates to the payment of taxes which the Sheriff has not failed to apply for, and as these are pretty considerable I find myself under the necessity either of disposing of the land or putting it in such a condition as will at least enable me to pay the taxes with the produce of it.

Since my writing to you I have had applications for purchasing or leasing a part of those lands but could give no decided answer to them, as I did not know (if you have accepted the trust) what steps you might have taken towards tenanting them.

Letters sent to Pittsburg or Richmond and put into the Post office at either of those places will come more directly to me than by any other means. I am, etc.[28]

To CLEMENT BIDDLE

Mount Vernon, October 2, 1788.

Dear Sir: Your letter of the 17th. Ulto. came duly to hand, and the one enclosed therein from Mr. Dubey has received an answer. In my last letter to you I requested that you would not

[28] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers.*

put yourself to any trouble in procuring Winter barley for me as I expected to get a supply from the brewer in Alexandria. You will oblige me by forwarding the enclosed letter to Pittsburg; and also by informing me, in your next, at what rate I could procure a large quantity of red Clover Seed, say 3000 lb of the best quality, to be delivered here before the River closes, or upon its first opening in the spring. If Mr. Peters has got a Riddle (I believe it is) for cleaning Potatoes ready for me, you will be so good as to send it in the next packet that sails for Alexandria, and likewise the articles mentioned in the enclosed memorandum. With very great esteem I am etc.[29] [H. S. P.]

To EMBREE & SHOTWELL

Mount Vernon, October 3, 1788.

Gentn: I hope and expect you have received payment for the Clover and Timothy seeds which you forwarded to me last winter. It was ordered long ago.

Pray on what terms could you supply me with 3000 lb of fresh and good red clover Seed of the present years growth to be shipped from New York before the Rivers are closed with Ice, or at any rate to be had immediately after they open. Your answer *soon* will much oblige Gentleman Yours etc.[30]

To ALEXANDER HAMILTON

Mount Vernon, October 3, 1788.

Dear Sir: In acknowledging the receipt of your candid and kind letter by the last Post; little more is incumbent upon me, than to thank you sincerely for the frankness with which you

[29] In the writings of Tobias Lear.
[30] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

communicated your sentiments, and to assure you that the same manly tone of intercourse will always be more than barely welcome, indeed it will be highly acceptable to me. I am particularly glad in the present instance, that you have dealt thus freely and like a friend.[31]

Although I could not help observing, from several publications and letters that my name had been sometimes spoken of, and that it was possible the *Contingency* which is the subject of your letter might happen; yet I thought it best to maintain a guarded silence and to seek the counsel of my best friends (which I certainly hold in the highest estimation) rather than to hazard an imputation unfriendly to the delicacy of my feelings. For, situated as I am, I could hardly bring the question into the slightest discussion, or ask an opinion even in the most confidential manner, without betraying, in my judgment, some impropriety of conduct, or without feeling an apprehension, that a premature display of anxiety might be construed into a vain-glorious desire of pushing myself into notice as a candidate. Now, if I am not grossly deceived in myself, I should unfeignedly rejoice, in case the Electors, by giving their votes in favor of some other person, would save me from the dreaded Dilemma of being forced to accept or refuse.

[31] Hamilton had written (September —): "It cannot be considered as a compliment to say that on your acceptance of the office of President the success of the new government in its commencement may materially depend. Your agency and influence will be not less important in preserving it from the future attacks of its enemies than they have been in recommending it in the first instance to the adoption of the people. . . . Your signature to the proposed system pledges your judgment for its being such an one as upon the whole was worthy of the public approbation. If it should miscarry (as men commonly decide from success or the want of it) the blame will in all probability be laid on the system itself. And the framers of it will have to encounter the disrepute of having brought about a revolution in government, without substituting any thing that was worthy of the effort; they pulled down one Utopia, it will be said, to build up another. This view of the subject, if I mistake not my dear Sir will suggest to your mind greater hazard to that fame, which must be and ought to be dear to you, in refusing your future aid to the system than in affording it. I will only add, that in my estimate of the matter, that aid is indispensable." This letter is now in the *Hamilton Papers* in the Library of Congress, having been removed from the *Washington Papers* by John C. Hamilton.

If that may not be, I am, in the next place, earnestly desirous of searching out the truth, and of knowing whether there does not exist a probability that the government would be just as happily and effectually carried into execution without my aid, as with it. I am *truly* solicitous to obtain all the previous information which the circumstances will afford, and to determine (when the determination can with propriety be no longer postponed) according to the principles of right reason, and the dictates of a clear conscience; without too great a reference to the unforeseen consequences, which may affect my person or reputation. Untill that period, I may fairly hold myself open to conviction; though I allow your sentiments to have weight in them; and I shall not pass by your arguments without giving them as dispassionate a consideration, as I can possibly bestow upon them.

In taking a survey of the subject, in whatever point of light I have been able to place it, I will not suppress the acknowledgment, my Dr. Sir that I have always felt a kind of gloom upon my mind, as often as I have been taught to expect, I might, and perhaps must ere long, be called to make a decision. You will, I am well assured, believe the assertion (though I have little expectation it would gain credit from those who are less acquainted with me) that if I should receive the appointment and if I should be prevailed upon to accept it, the acceptance would be attended with more diffidence and reluctance that I ever experienced before in my life. It would be, however, with a fixed and sole determination of lending whatever assistance might be in my power to promote the public weal, in hopes that at a convenient and early period my services might be dispensed with, and that I might be permitted once more to retire, to pass an unclouded evening after the stormy day of life, in the bosom of domestic tranquility.

But why these anticipations? if the friends to the Constitution conceive that my administering the government will be a means of its acceleration and strength, is it not probable that the adversaries of it may entertain the same ideas, and of course make it an object of opposition? That many of this description will become Electors, I can have no doubt of, any more than that their opposition will extend to any character who (from whatever cause) would be likely to thwart their measures. It might be impolitic in them to make this declaration *previous* to the Election; but I shall be out in my conjectures if they do not act conformably thereto, and that the seeming moderation by which they appear to be actuated at present is neither more or less than a finesse to lull and deceive. Their plan of opposition is systematized, and a regular intercourse, I have much reason to believe between the Leaders of it in the several States is formed to render it more effectual. With sentiments of sincere regard &c.[32]

To THOMAS SNOWDEN

Mount Vernon, October 3, 1788.

Sir: The cost of the Plough which you were so obliging as to have made and sent to me has never yet been presented. I am ready to pay it to you, or your order on demand.

Will you permit me again to request the favor of you to procure me another exactly like the former and as perfectly made, both Iron and wood, as it can be by your best workmen? I like the other so well that I mean to get into the use of them generally; and want the one which I have now requested as a model, in my workshop to make others by. With the compleat plough be pleased to send me two dozen shears, from your Forge, of

[32] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers.*

the proper sort and size to be manufactured with as little labour as may be into Ploughs of the above Sort, the sooner the whole is forwarded the more convenient and agreeable it will be to Yours etc.[33]

To CLEMENT BIDDLE

Mount Vernon, October 6, 1788.

Dear Sir: It was intended, tho' omitted in my last, to have requested you to ask the Brewers in your City what they will give for spring Barley delivered at my Landing, or in Philadelphia, and in the latter case for you to have known what the freight would be. My Barley is raised from the Seed you obtained for me from Mr. Haynes, and is, as I mentioned to you in a former letter, mixed in some degree with Oats. This I am, told is no disadvantage to the Malt tho' it is an objection to my sowing it again. I mention it that the purchaser may be acquainted therewith before hand. What the quantity may be that I shall have to dispose of I am unable to say, but it will not be great, not more than a few hundred bushels, the season being miserable bad for it, the grain is good, your answer soon will oblige Dear Sir Yrs. etc.[33]

To THOMAS NEWTON, JUNIOR

Mount Vernon, October 10, 1788.

Sir: Your letter of the 23d. Ulto. was handed to me by Capt. Justice who deld, at my landing 35,962 Shingles agreeable to his receipt.

Your letter of the 8th. of August mentions that, by contract, payment was to be made for the shingles three months after the delivery of the first parcel, and in consequence thereof I did

[33] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

not make provision for the payment sooner, but as you have been disappointed in that contract and was obliged to advance the money for those which were delivered, I enclose a Bill drawn by Colo. Fitzgerald upon Messrs. Brent and Co in my favor for £14.8 the amount of 36,000 at 8/. The residue of the Shingles will, I hope, be sent up as soon as possible, for my delay for want of them would, at this season, be a material injury to me in my building.

You informed me in your letter of August that the Price of super fine flour was 32/ and Fine 28/ Pr. bbl. I would thank you to let me know what it will fetch quick in Cash at this time. I am, etc.[34]

To CLEMENT BIDDLE

Mount Vernon, October 13, 1788.

Dear Sir: I was duly favored with your letter of the 2d. inst. and am much obliged by your attention to the letter which I requested you to forward to Mr. Smith.

I will thank you to procure for me and send by the first opportunity 175 lb of Seine twine as near the sample herewith sent as you can get it, and likewise two pieces of Linen not coarser than the enclosed pattern, for the payment of which and the discharge of the balance due to you on my account, I have enclosed a Bank Note of one hundred Dollars, as it is uncertain whether you have yet disposed of my herrings or not. I must beg you to inform me in your next if Interest is drawn upon those bank notes or not. I am, etc.[34]

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[34] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

On October 15 Washington wrote to Biddle inclosing what was omitted in his last letter (probably the samples of twine and linen mentioned in the above of October 13): "If the Black India Paduasoy's are strong and lasting, Mrs. Washington begs you will send her as much (of that which is good) as will make her a Gown without a Petticoat." This letter is in the Huntington Library.

To MRS. ELIZA HARRIOT O'CONNOR

Mount Vernon, October 17, 1788.

Madam: The letter with which you favored me, on the 7th. inst. did not get to my hand till the 15th. or it should have received an earlier acknowledgment. Whenever you can make it convenient and agreeable to visit Mount Vernon, Mrs. Washington and myself will take pleasure in shewing you every civility in our power.

Governor Johnston[35] of No. Carolina is a Gentleman with whom I have not the honor of an acquaintance, nor one with whom I have had any intercourse by letter, therefore, consistantly with rules of propriety, I should find myself at a loss to address him on the subject of your request. To me, it would seem, that the evidence of those characters whose children have been under your tuition would be the best recommendation you could obtain (and is indeed necessary) without any *particular* address. At the foot of which I would readily add my concurrence, as far as I have knowledge or can be warranted. I am, etc.[36]

To ELÉONOR FRANÇOIS ÉLIE, COMTE DE MOUSTIER

Mount Vernon, October 18, 1788.

Sir: It was not until the last evening, that I had the pleasure of receiving the letter which your Excellency did me the honor to write to me, on the 5th. of this month, from Boston. So that I could not have an opportunity of returning my acknowledgment, before the Post which will depart the 21st. from

[35] Gov. Samuel Johnston.
[36] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers.*

Alexandria, to the Northward. I hope, however, it will be in time to meet you at New York, or on the road; with assurances, that I shall be at home at the period proposed and that I anticipate very great happiness from your intended visit. The Lady,[37] who has taken so much interest in the New World as to honor it with her presence, may be assured that I shall cordially rejoice in an occasion of demonstrating how welcome she is I shall also expect that your Nephew and M. dupont[38] will not fail to lay me under additional obligations, by being of your Party.

As I now promise myself in so few days, to have the felicity of a personal acquaintance and oral communication with your Excellency I will not enlarge at this time, any farther than to express an earnest hope, that you will, by travelling, have found repeated circumstances to convince you of the general good will of the Americans for your Nation. Be persuaded, Sir, the slightest suggestion, or the very suspicion that a few individuals had been wanting in respect to the representative of your Sovereign, would have excited an universal indignation against them. Of the sincere desire which prevails throughout the United States to promote and extend the most liberal intercourse with France, on a footing of reciprocal advantage, I flatter myself, it would not be more difficult to adduce demonstrations; than of the profound respect and real esteem, with which I have the honor etc.[39]

To ALEXANDER HAMILTON

Mount Vernon, October 18, 1788.

Dear Sir: A day or two ago the enclosed letters came to my hands. The watch of Genl. Morgan you have for what it cost him, what he expects for it is also signified. It is a repeater with

[37] The Marchioness de Brehan.
[38] Victor Marie du Pont.
[39] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers.*

a chased *outer* case with open work in parts. The inner case is open, nearly in the whole. It is of an *old fraction* make, and appears to have seen better days; perhaps its chief merits lay in being a family piece. Perhaps I am mistaken, it may possess intrinsic merit unknown to me; for silent it came to my hands; and silent it shall depart; having made no attempt to wind it up.

If a safe and direct conveyance presents itself I will forward it without waiting your orders.[40] If not, say what shall be done with it. With very great esteem etc.[41]

To PHILIP FENDALL

Mount Vernon, October 22, 1788.

Dear Sir: If my Ears did not deceive me the day I dined with you, a difficulty was mentioned in obtaining asses Milk for Mrs. Fendall. One of my imported Jennies suckles a colt got by the Spanish Jack which I would wean and send the mother of it up if you have any place in which she can be securely kept, being valuable and again with foal. The use of this Ass shall be much at the service of Mrs. Fendall and I shall feel happy in having it in my power to oblige her with the milk of it. I am, etc.[41]

To BENJAMIN LINCOLN

Mount Vernon, October 26, 1788.

My dear Sir: I have been lately favored with the receipt of your letters of the 24th and 30th of September, with their enclosures, and thank you sincerely for your free and friendly communications. As the period is now rapidly approaching which must decide the fate of the new Constitution, as to the

[40] On November 6 Washington forwarded the Cochran watch by Comte Moustier, with a brief note, which is in the *Hamilton Papers* in the Library of Congress.

[41] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

manner of its being carried into execution, and probably as to its usefulness, it is not wonderful that we should all feel an unusual degree of anxiety on the occasion. I must acknowledge my fears have been greatly alarmed, but still I am not without hopes. From the good beginning that has been made in Pennsylvania, a State from which much was to be feared, I cannot help foreboding well of the others. That is to say, I flatter myself a majority of them will appoint fœderal members to the several branches of the new government. I hardly should think that Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, South Carolina, and Georgia, would be for attempting premature amendments. Some of the rest may, also, in all probability be apprehensive of throwing our affairs into confusion, by such ill-timed expedients.

There will however, be no room for the advocates of the Constitution to relax in their exertions; for if they should be lulled into security, appointments of Antifœderal men may probably take place, and the consequences, which you so justly dread, be realized. Our Assembly is now in session; it is represented to be rather antifœderal, but we have heard nothing of its doings. Mr. Patrick Henry, R. H. Lee and Madison are talked of for the Senate. Perhaps as much opposition, or, in other words, as great an effort for early amendments, is to be apprehended from this State, as from any but New York. The constant report is, that North Carolina will soon accede to the new Union. A new Assembly is just elected in Maryland, in which it is asserted the number of Fœderalists greatly predominates; and that being the case, we may look for favorable appointments, in spite of the rancour and activity of a few discontented, and I may say *apparently* unprincipled men.

I would willingly pass over in silence that part of your letter, in which you mention the persons who are Candidates for the

two first Offices in the Executive, if I did not fear the omission might seem to betray a want of confidence. Motives of delicacy have prevented me hitherto from conversing or writing on this subject, whenever I could avoid it with decency. I may, however, with great sincerity and I believe without offending against modesty or propriety say to *you,* that I most heartily wish the choice to which you allude may not fall upon me: and that, if it should, I must reserve to myself the right of making up my final decision, at the last moment when it can be brought into one view, and when the expediency or inexpediency of a *refusal* can be more judiciously determined than at present. But be assured, my dear Sir, if from any inducement I shall be persuaded ultimately to accept, it will not be (so far as I know my own heart) from any of a private or personal nature. Every personal consideration conspires to rivet me (if I may use the expression) to retirement. At my time of life, and under my circumstances, nothing in this world can ever draw me from it, unless it be a *conviction* that the partiality of my Countrymen had made my services absolutely necessary, joined to a *fear* that my refusal might induce a belief that I preferred the conservation of my own reputation and private ease, to the good of my Country. After all, if I should conceive myself in a manner constrained to accept, I call Heaven to witness, that this very act would be the greatest sacrifice of my personal feelings and wishes that ever I have been called upon to make. It would be to forego repose and domestic enjoyment, for trouble, perhaps for public obloquy: for I should consider myself as entering upon an unexplored field, enveloped on every side with clouds and darkness.

From this embarrassing situation I had naturally supposed that my declarations at the close of the war would have saved me; and that my sincere intentions, then publicly made known,

would have effectually precluded me for ever afterwards from being looked upon as a Candidate for any office. This hope, as a last anchor of worldly happiness in old age, I had still carefully preserved; until the public papers and private letters from my Correspondents in almost every quarter, taught me to apprehend that I might soon be obliged to answer the question, whether I would go again into public life or not.

You will see, my dear Sir, from this train of reflections, that I have lately had enough of my own perplexities to think of, without adverting much to the affairs of others. So much have I been otherwise occupied, and so little agency did I wish to have in electioneering, that I have never entered into a single discussion with any person nor to the best of my recollection expressed a single sentiment orally or in writing respecting the appointment of a Vice President. From the extent and respectability of Massachusetts it might reasonably be expected, that he would be chosen from that State. But having taken it for granted, that the person selected for that important place would be a true Fœderalist; in that case, I was altogether disposed to acquiesce in the prevailing sentiments of the Electors, without giving any unbecoming preference or incurring any unnecessary ill-will. Since it here seems proper to touch a little more fully upon that point, I will frankly give you my manner of thinking, and what, under certain circumstances, would be my manner of acting.

For this purpose I must speak again hypothetically for argument's sake, and say, supposing I should be appointed to the Administration and supposing I should accept it, I most solemnly declare, that whosoever shall be found to enjoy the confidence of the States so far as to be elected Vice President, cannot be disagreeable to me in that office. And even if I had any predilection, I flatter myself, I possess patriotism enough to

sacrifice it at the shrine of my Country; where, it will be unavoidably necessary for me to have made infinitely greater sacrifices, before I can find myself in the supposed predicament: that is to say, before I can be connected with others, in any possible political relation. In truth, I believe that I have no prejudices on the subject, and that it would not be in the power of any evil-minded persons, who wished to disturb the harmony of those concerned in the government, to infuse them into my mind. For, to continue the same hypothesis one step farther, supposing myself to be connected in office with any gentleman of character, I would most certainly treat him with perfect sincerity and the greatest candour in every respect. I would give him my full confidence, and use my utmost endeavours to co-operate with him, in promoting and rendering permanent the national prosperity; this should be my great, my only aim, under the fixed and irrevocable resolution of leaving to other hands the helm of the State, as soon as my services could possibly with propriety be dispensed with.

I have thus, my dear Sir, insensibly been led into a longer detail than I intended; and have used more egotism than I could have wished; for which I urge no other apology, than but my opinion of your friendship, discretion and candour. With sentiments of real esteem etc.[42]

To THOMAS MONTGOMERIE

Mount Vernon, October 27, 1788.

Dear Sir: Your letter of the 24th. came duly to hand. The day appointed for the Revision of the Settlement between the Assignees of Mr. Temple and the Executors of Colo Colvill would have been perfectly agreeable to me had I not just received

[42] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

a letter from the French Minister, the Count de Moustiers, informing me that he, the Marchioness de Brehan, the Marquis her son, and another French Gentleman propose being at Mount Vernon the latter end of this week. As this circumstance might render my attendance in Alexandria the Monday following inconvenient I am constrained to postpone it, and as you have been so obliging as to say that you would conform to any day of my appointing, I will name one so soon as the Minister shall have left this. Mr. Wilson[43] being in town can be informed thereof in time. With sentiments of great esteem etc.[44]

To MATHEW CAREY

Mount Vernon, October 27, 1788.

Sir: In reply to yours of the 20th of this month, I have to observe, that the fragment of the letter in question, supposed to be written by me, is spurious, and that there was a Pamphlet containing a great many letters of the same description, published in New York at the same time. It should farther be observed, that this publication was made soon after several of my letters were really intercepted with the mail and that the pretended copies of them not only blended many truths with many falsehoods, but were evidently written by some person exceedingly well acquainted with my domestic and general concerns. Advantage was adroitly taken of this knowledge to give the greater appearance of probability to the fiction.

From these circumstances you will perceive, Sir, how prudently you have acted in making an application to me previous to your meditated republication. Otherwise I might have found myself under the necessity of denying that they were genuine; from any apprehension, that, being thus preserved in a manner

[43] William Wilson.
[44] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers.*

under my eye and with my acquiescence, they must have assumed the seal of veracity in the estimation of Posterity. For whatever credit some of those letters might be thought to have done to my literary or political talents, I certainly cannot choose to avail myself of the imposition.

With due regard &c.[45]

To WILLIAM IRVINE

Mount Vernon, October 31, 1788.

Dear Sir: The letter with which you favored me, dated the 6th. instt: enclosing a sketch of the Waters near the line which separates your State from that of New York came duly to hand for which I offer you my acknowledgments and thanks.[46]

The extensive inland Navigation with which this Country abounds, and the easy communications which many of them afford with the amazing Territory to the westward of us, will, certainly be productive of infinite advantage to the Atlantic States if the Legislatures of those through which they pass have liberality and public spirit enough to improve them. For my part, I wish sincerely that every door to that Country may be set wide open that the commercial intercourse with it may be rendered as free and as easy as possible. This in my judgment is the *best,* if not the *only* cement that can bind those people to us for any length of time and we shall, I think, be deficient in foresight and wisdom, if we neglect the means to effect it. Our *interest* is so much in unison with the policy of the measure that nothing but that ill timed and misapplied parsimony and contracted way of thinking, which intermingles so much in all our public Councils can counteract it.

[45] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers.*

[46] Irvine's letter has been abstracted from the *Washington Papers* by W. B. Sprague; his sketch map, however, is in those papers.

If the Chataughque Lake, at the head of Canewango River, approximates Lake Erie as nearly as is laid down in the draught you have sent me it presents a very short Portage indeed between the two and an access to all those above the latter. I am &c.[47]

To PHILIP JOSEPH DE L'ETOMBE

Mount Vernon, November 5, 1788.

Sir: The Compte de Moustier did me the honor to hand me your letter of the 5 Ulto together with the two Volumes on Hydrolicks which you were so polite as to forward me from M. le Comte de Buat.[48] I must beg you, Sir, to accept my best thanks for your attention to those books and likewise for your polite expressions to me in your letter. I have not yet had liesure to peruse the Books and can therefore give you no opinion upon them as you request me to do, but I have not a doubt but I shall find much pleasure and satisfaction in their contents. Enclosed is a letter to M. le Comte de Buat which you will be so obliging as to forward to him.[49] With due respect I am, etc.[47]

To BATTAILE MUSE

Mount Vernon, November 7, 1788.

Sir: Altho' it is my wish and desire that the Papers belonging to the Estate of the deceased Colo Fairfax were in the hands of the Executors, or in those of any other whom they may think proper to appoint to receive them, yet, prudence dictates to me

[47] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers.*

[48] Chevalier Du Buat's *Principles d'Hydraulique* (Paris: 1786).

[49] A copy of this letter is in the "Letter Book" in the *Washington Papers.*

On November 6 Washington wrote a brief note to Otho Holland Williams, introducing Comte de Moustier and Marchioness de Brehan. This note is in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

the propriety of an order from them for their delivery. This, as I have never seen your power of Attorney and as you decline sending your Waggon *now,* can, without much difficulty (I should suppose) be obtained before you apply again. In the meanwhile I shall have no difficulty in furnishing papers, or Accts. for particular purposes, as heretofore. Mr Hartshorn's rect. for £33.6.8. will be satisfactory to me, and when you send it your acct. shall be credited for that sum. I am, etc.[50]

To BENJAMIN LINCOLN

Mount Vernon, November 14, 1788.

My dear Sir: Your letter of the 25th of last month, accompanying the political letters of Mr. Adams, came safely to hand; and I have to acknowledge my obligations for both those favours.

There is good sense in the answers given by Mr. Adams to the questions of Dr. Calkoen,[51] combined with an extensive knowledge of the interests and resources of this Country. If there be in some instances an exaggeration of our force, it is not a matter of wonder; but the tenor of the whole performance rather affords a subject for admiration that so much accuracy should have been discovered in representations, mostly drawn from recollection. Indeed I was very much pleased with the perusal, and doubt not but the work must have been well calculated to answer the good purposes for which it was intended.

I wrote to you on the [26th][52] day of October pretty fully, and therefore shall be more concise at present. Our Assembly (according to different reports) has proved itself to be, as was apprehended, very much under the influence of Mr. Henry. The choice of Delegates for the Senate in Congress has fallen upon

[50] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers.*
[51] These questions are contained in a privately printed pamphlet (1786).
[52] The date is blank in the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers.*

two Gentlemen, who are considered to be rather opposed to the new Constitution, viz, Mr. Richd. H. Lee and Colo Grayson. But notwithstanding they have been both of them solicitous to obtain previous amendments, Colo Henry Lee told me lately that Mr. R. H. Lee had declared to him, a few days since, that he wished to see the Government fairly carried into execution and that such alterations only should be adopted, as might be found necessary from its errors or defects; if these were not the very words the observations, I think, were to that import.

A similar sentiment, I have been credibly informed, has been expressed to more than one person by Colo Grayson. But the Fœderalists in the Assembly, as I am given to understand, were exceedingly mortified that Mr. Madison should have lost his election by eight or nine Votes. It is now much dreaded by the same characters, that the State (which is to be divided into districts for the appointment of Representatives to Congress) will be so arranged as to place a large proportion of those who are called Antifœderalists in that Station.

I will not add any of my own speculations and conjectures to these facts; but hasten to conclude, as usual, with the strongest protestations of esteem and regard. I am, &c.

P. S. As my last contained some very confidential observations, I hope it has been duly conveyed to you.[53]

*To BUSHROD WASHINGTON

Mount Vernon, November 17, 1788.

Dear Bushrod: Your letter of the 9th came to my hand last night. What the abilities of my deceased brother Samls Estate towards paying his debts, may be, I am unable to say; but I much fear that the management of it is in very bad hands; as

[53] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers.*

the hours of your Uncle Charles are, I have reason to believe, spent in intoxication. This circumstance, added to a natural indolence, leaves too much to the Steward to expect *industry* and *fair dealing;* unless he differs widely from the generallity of his class.

It would seem to me, that the best mode for you to pursue, wd. be, to go to Berkeley yourself, examine into the debts, the resources of the Estate, and the management of it; in order that it may be Ascertained whether there is a prospect of paying the debts without a Sale, or that the latter is inevitable. As Executor of your father, who was the active Executor of your uncle, you have a right to pursue this conduct; and I should have no difficulty in that case of giving my sentiments to my Brother Charles; but if a Sale can be avoided, especially at this time when property will fetch nothing, it certainly ought; and more especially too as I do not conceive (but this I could know) that Doctr. Stuart as Admr. of the Estate of Mr Custis, would press it. As to writing, *simply,* to your Uncle Charles, unaccompanied by personal application and the investigation here mentioned, I am persuaded it would avail nothing. My Money (tho' it is exceedingly distressing to me to apply it that way) and my credit, is at stake for the board, the Schooling, clothing, &ca. of George and Lawe. Washington, in Alexandria; without being able to receive from the Estate more than a little driblet now and then, entirely inadequate to the demand. My advance for them, at this time, in money and credit, is considerable.

I charge you nothing for the use of your Mares, to the Jack, and whilst I am on this subject, it is incumbent on me to mention that, a letter which you wrote to me some time in April, by a Mr Carey, never came to my hands until about a Month ago; when he presented it himself. This letter was to enquire whether I would commit one of my Jacks to your care for the

Season, as there were many you said who would send Mares and wd. await my answer before they would otherwise dispose of them. Similar applications are making to me for one of them against the next season, and it is probable I may part with one of them (the Maltese for instance) for that period; in which case I should prefer that Stand where the greatest Number of Mares (and ready Money, for I would give no credit, or have any after claps to negotiate, or settle) could be had. What then is your opinion of the number (under the circumstances above) that would come to him at Bushfield? Mr. Thacker Washington, *I am told,* wishes to get him, Mr. Ben: Grymes and others have applied also; but I am under no engagement, at present.

My love in which Mrs. Washington and the family here join, is offered to you and Nancy, and I am etc. [H.L.]

To JAMES MADISON

Mount Vernon, November 17, 1788.

My dear Sir: It has so happened, that the letter which you did me the favor of writing to me on the 5th, did not get to my hands until the 15th. instant; owing, in part, to the uncertainty of the Mail (on account of the change from the Summer to the Winter establishment of the Stages) and partly to some engagements which prevented my sending to the Post Office agreeably to my usual custom.

I wish it was in my power to be as precise and satisfactory in answering your enquiry respecting the value of the purchase made by Colo. Lee at the Great Falls of this River as your purposes require, and my inclination would prompt me to give you. But however deficient they may be, I will hazard the best information I am possessed of on this subject.

Of the quantity of Land in this purchase, and the incumbrences thereon, it should seem you have been apprized. It only

remains therefore for me to add (as far as I am able) an Account of its *situation,* and the probable *advantages* which are to be derived from it. With respect to the first, if my ideas of the matter (for I do not speak from absolute certainty) are just, it includes the entire Canal, Bason &ca. at the Great Falls; and the Mill Seats (for there are more than one) of which Governor Johnson and a Company connected with him, in this business, had formed very sanguine hopes, till the unexpected purchase by Colo Lee, arrested the prospect. For Water works of *any* kind these Seats must be exceedingly valuable if the navigation obtains; of which no one I believe entertains a doubt, at this time. How far they may be impeded, or even endangered at times by remarkable freshes, I am not a competent judge. The opinion of better informed persons in these matters than I am, is, that they may be rendered secure. Another advantage to be derived is, that under all possible circumstances a town must be established there (it is now much wished for by Mercantile people) whether the navigation is extended from thence to tide water, or not. In the last case, the lotts will be of great value; in the first very desirable; because all *Water* borne produce *must* pass by, if it is not deposited here; which must take place, if the difficulties from hence to tide Water (about nine miles) should prove insurmountable; and between you and me it is the *most* doubtful part of our Work. Having gone so far, I will hazard another idea in proof of my opinion of this navigation; and consequently of the importance of this pass. It may be a singular one, but I am not less clear in it on that account. It is, that the Navigation from the Great Falls and through the Shenandoah falls, will not be opened *five* years before that of the latter River will be improved *at least* 150 miles; and the whole produce of that rich and extensive vale between the Blue ridge and the Alligany Mountains be brought

through *it,* and the *South Branch,* as far South Westerly as Staunton into the Potomack; and thence by the Great falls to the place or places of Exportation. Add this to what will be drawn from the upper part of Maryland, and parts of Pensylvania (which at present go to Baltimore by an expensive Land transportation) and then annex thereto the idea of what may come (under a wise policy) from the Western waters, and it opens a field almost too extensive for imagination; and will induce the Merchants of Alexandria, George Town and perhaps other places, to establish their advanced Posts at the Falls to catch the produce on its passage.

From these premises; but I beg leave to subjoin they may be too sanguinely dilated; I leave you to draw your own conclusions of the property which is offered to you; the profits of which, as you will readily perceive, cannot be immediate. Not much I believe can be said in favor of the 500 Acres (if there is that quantity of it); or of the growth thereon; but to this tract if I have been rightly informed, a priviledge (but under what conditions I know not) is annexed of cutting wood from a large body adjoining. It has also been said that in the vicinity of this tract another purchase (connected with the expanded designs of Semple)[54] has been made by Colo. Lee of a most valuable Mine bank. These, I presume, are included in the offer to you, for as much as they were parts of the Original plan.

With respect to the Sulla, before I attempt to give you an acc't of my cultivation of it, and the result, I must request the favor of you to apologize for me to Mr St John[55] for not having acknowledged the receipt of it before. The truth is, that until I was informed by you from whence the Seeds came, I knew not to whom I was indebted for them. In my room at Mr.

[54] John Semple.
[55] Hector St. John de Crèvecœur.

Morris's (where papers addressed to me were generally laid, during my attendance in Convention) I one day found a bundle containing these Seeds; unaccompanied by a letter, card, or clue of information to direct my acknowledgement of the receipt, or application. I remember to have received a letter from Mr St. John whilst I was in Philadelphia, written in French, the purport of which I got Mr. Gouv'r Morris to explain to me in English; but if any mention of Sulla was made therein, he omitted, or I have forgot it. Thus much by way of exculpation of myself. And now I am sorry to add that, this plant (for want perhaps of knowing the nature and uses of it, and possibly from mismanagement) came to nothing. The Seeds vegetated partially, and not being able to find the name in any botanical list of Plants in my possession, or to come at the properties of it; and it appearing moreover, ungrateful for the *first* attentions I gave it, it was neglected afterward.

The Accts. from Richmond are indeed very impropitious to fœderal measures. The whole proceedings of the Assembly, *it is said* may be summed up in one word, to wit, that the Edicts of Mr H——[56] are enregistered with less opposition by the majority of that body, than those of the Grand Monarch are in the Parliaments of France. He has only to say let this be Law, and it is Law. With my very sincere esteem etc.[57]

To JOHN DANDRIDGE

Mount Vernon, November 18, 1788.

Dear Sir: Your letter of the 27th. Ulto. came duly to hand, but company and other occurences have with-held my acknowledgment of it till now.

[56] Patrick Henry.

[57] From the printed text in the *Washington-Madison Papers* (McGuire Collection, 1802).

It is not my *wish* to add Land or Slaves to my present possessions but much less is it my desire to distress your father's Estate by insisting on Cash in discharge of his Bonds. Western Lands, however valuable and productive they may be to residents have been found an incumbrance to me, although in point of quality, situation and natural advantages, mine are exceeded by none, the tract therefore on Elk-horn would by no means suit me; but if you will inform me in whose occupation the Gloucester tract is and on what terms; Who was the former Proprietor of it, and how it is employed, and at the same time furnish me with a plat, or the courses of it that I may see the shape and to have it examined, I will, as soon after as it can well be done, give you a decisive answer with respect to your proposal.

Your Aunt and sister offer their love to you, the rest of the family unite in every good wish but none with more sincerity than, Dear Sir Yr. etc.[58]

To DOCTOR THOMAS RUSTON

Mount Vernon, November 24, 1788.

Sir: The young Gentleman who will do me the favor of presenting this letter to you, is the Nephew and heir of our much esteemed and lamented friend Colo. Fairfax, of Bath, England. He comes to Philadelphia for the purpose of compleating his Studies; and possessing much intrinsic merit, these reasons will, I am sure, be sufficiently recommendatory of him to your attention and civilities. Present if you please my complimts. to Mrs Ruston. I am etc.[59]

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[58] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

[59] The text of this letter was kindly furnished by Godfrey A. S. Wieners, of College Park, N. Y.

*To BUSHROD WASHINGTON

Mount Vernon, November 25, 1788.

Dear Bushrod: Mr. Packet handed me your letter of the 20th. In one thing my sentiments perfectly coincide with your own, and that is, to manage our Virginia Estates *well* there can not be a divided attention, for with all the attention that *can* be bestowed, they are seldom productive.

How far Alexandria, above other places, may claim a preference in prospective, for your place of residence, is a matter that requires better information with respect to circumstances and professional competetors than I am master of. Though this place is under a cloud at present, I am of opinion that Phœnex like, it will again, from its own ashes, grow into consequence, and being in the vicinity of several important Courts in the State of Maryland, may, in those respects be considered as an eligible place for a person in your way. The merits and abilities of the Practitioners at the Bar of this, and the Courts adjacent, are as well, perhaps better known to you than myself; consequently you can form a better judgment than I (who never go to Court, and am little acquainted with them) of the stumbling blocks wch. are in your way to an extensive practice; but this may not be peculiar to Alexandria for the same difficulties might occur any where out of your present walks.

It is unnecessary I hope for me to add, that if you can make it convenient in an interested point of view, that no place on which you could fix would be more agreeable to me than Alexandria, and should this be the case, if you could accomodate yourself in my small House in Town (where Doctr. Brown formerly lived) you shall be very welcome to the use of it rent-free, till you can find a more convenient one on such terms as would

suit you. Your Aunt, and the family under this roof, join me in every good wish for you and Nancy, and with very sincere esteem and affection I am etc.[60]

*To DAVID STUART

Mount Vernon, November 25, 1788.

Dear Sir: I have received your favor of the 15th. and thank you for the communications contained in it. In my next I will be more full. The chief, indeed the only object of this letter is, in behalf of Mrs. Washington, to request the favor of you to send her by the first Stage, addressed to the care of Mr. McCrea, 12 yards of good black crape for a Gown. Neither Alexandria or Annapolis (from the last of which Mrs. Stuart writes) affords any.

Will you endeavor to procure for me from Mr. Henley, or elsewhere, some of the little Frederick Tobo. Seed? I have thoughts, at present, of trying about One hundred thousand plants next year and seem most inclined to that sort. With very great esteem etc. [H.S.P.]

*To COMTE DE ROCHAMBEAU

Mount Vernon, November 27, 1788.

My dear Count: Expecting you might be in your command at Calais, when Mr. Gouverneur[61] shall pass through that place on his way to England, I seized the occasion of recalling myself to your remembrance, in commending him to your protection. Though I am sensible you must be personally acquainted

[60] From the original in the possession of W. Albert Smoot, of Alexandria, Va., who kindly permitted a copy to be made.

[61] Morris, inadvertently omitted.

and favourably impressed with Mr. Morris's character; I would not, however, let him depart without the feeble addition which my testimony might give to the former impression.

Here we have all peace, and a happy prospect that the New Government will soon be carried into execution. On your side of the Atlantic I am sorry to find, that there is some probability of a general War. You will, I know, My dear Count, applaud the wish which humanity makes to prevent the effusion of blood; even though you are a military man, and might have a better chance than most others to gather fresh laurels in the field of death. Wherever you may be, in peace or in war, be assured my best wishes attend you and that I have the honor to be with unalterable Sentiments of consideration and friendship Your etc.[62]

To ARTHUR YOUNG

Mount Vernon, November 27, 1788.

Sir: Mr. Gouverneur Morris, an American Gentleman of a very good family and reputation, will have the honour of presenting this letter to you. As it is designed merely to be entroductory of him, I shall confine myself to say, that this gentleman (exclusive of having been much addicted to scientific, commercial, and political investigation) is particularly fond of farming. He possesses a farm, very finely circumstanced for receiving improvements, in the neighbourhood of New York. As he is not only inquisitive for knowledge, but also intelligently communicative; I think you will be pleased with his acquaintance. And I shall be much indebted to you for any civilities and attentions, which you may have it in your power to shew him.

With great esteem I am, etc.[63]

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[62] From the *Rochambeau Papers* in the Library of Congress.
[63] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers.*

To JOSEPH MANDRILLON

Mount Vernon, November 27, 1788.

Sir: I make no apology for introducing to your acquaintance Mr. Gouverneur Morris a true American, full of vivacity and talents; because I am persuaded you will derive great satisfaction from an acquaintance with him. He will be able to inform you much about the circumstances of America: so that you may gain more knowledge on that subject, perhaps, in an hour's conversation, than you could from reading a folio.

If, in return, you should have the complaisance to bring him acquainted with anything import, relative to men, sciences, arts or commerce in your world, or to render him any attentions; those favours will be considered as particularly done to him who is with great consideration and esteem, Sir Your etc.[64]

To MARQUIS DE CHASTELLUX

Mount Vernon, November 27, 1788.

My dear Marqs: Although I know you are well acquainted with Mr. Gouverneur Morris yet finding he was about to embark for France, I thought it might not be unacceptable for you to hear from me, and of the wellfare of my connections, by a person for whom I entertain so good a regard. Besides I thought I should have a convenient opportunity of addressing the Compliments of Mrs. Washington and myself, to you, to your good Lady, and, if it was not presuming too much, to the amiable Princess with whom she is so intimately connected. As for Mr. Morris, only let him be once fairly presented to your French

[64] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers.*

On November 27 Washington wrote a letter of the same import to Richard, Lord Fairfax, a copy of which is in the "Letter Book" in the *Washington Papers.*

Ladies, and I answer for it, he will not leave the worst impression in the world of the American character, for taciturnity and improper reserve. I rely upon it he will make his way good.

In the meantime, with sincere wishes for the felicity of you and yours, I embrace you, my dear Marqs. and am now, as ever With Sentiments of esteem and Friendship.[65]

To CLEMENT BIDDLE

Mount Vernon, November 27, 1788.

Dear Sir: I have now before me your letters of the 16th and 26th of October and 16th of November. The articles sent by Captn. Ellwood arrived in good order and agreeable to the Invoice. Captn. Ingraham has not yet arrived but is hourly expected. I think the Irish Linen @ 8/2 is very high, and as there has been a late importation of Linens into Alexandria I will endeavour to supply myself at that place; if I should not be able to do it I must then thank you to procure some for me in Philadelphia. If there are any Hollands in Philadelphia of a quality equal to the pattern of linen sent you, I will thank you to let me know the price of them.

I have lately been informed by Embree & Shotwell of New York that the quantity of Clover-seed which I shall want, and of the best quality may be procured at that place, @ 9d. per lb. New York currency, and perhaps at less. But if it can be obtained at Philadelphia upon the same terms, and equally good, I should prefer getting it from thence. I must, at any rate, request you to send me five bushels by the next opportunity, as I shall want to sow a quantity upon my wheat with the first proper snows in January, and also to inform me, with certainty, of the lowest terms upon which the quantity

[65] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

mentioned in a former letter may be had. It is hardly necessary for me to mention that the goodness of the seed should be particularly attended to, as a disappointment in that will be of very considerable detriment to me. The loss of the seed would be but a small part of what I should suffer by it; as my great object is to get my lands well seeded, and if I fail in this thro' the badness of the seed, the season, and my labour upon the land will be lost. Last year I received some seed from New York and some from Philadelphia; it was sown indiscriminately, and no memorandum made, as it was sown, to distinguish from which place it came. Some part of it came up very well, and part very thin or not at all; but from its not being noted I was unable to determine from which place the bad seed came.

The piece of Sattin sent by Captn. Ellwood will supercede the necessity of purchasing a ps. of Padusoy which Mrs. Washington wanted. With great esteem I am etc.[66] [H.S.P.]

To THOMAS JEFFERSON

Mount Vernon, November 27, 1788.

Dear Sir: Notwithstanding I had the pleasure to write to you somewhat largely on the 31st. day of Augt. last, I would not dispense with transmitting a line by so good an occasion, as that which is now offered to me by the departure of Mr. Gouverneur Morris for France. And the rather was I induced to this because I did not know whether you might have been much acquainted with that Gentleman, and because (in that case) I could wish to be the medium for bringing such an acquaintance more fully to effect. You will find full of affability, goodnature, vivacity and talents. As you will also find in him a deportment calculated to do credit to the national character, I

[66] In the writing of Tobias Lear.

cannot hesitate to believe that you will be desirous of having opportunities of being useful to him. Referring you to him for the state of affairs in America, I will add no more, except the most sincere protestations of being with very great esteem. etc.[67]

To MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE

Mount Vernon, November 27, 1788.

My dear Marquis: I wrote to you on the 15th day of September last, a very long letter, mostly on speculative and political topics. But as I knew that communication, by going through the French Post-Offices might be exposed to the inspection of other eyes besides yours, I was careful not to suggest any thing, which it might be imprudent to divulge to the world. A little after sending off that letter, we were first in doubt and then under great anxiety, about your personal liberty; as an ugly story prevailed respecting your having broken into the Bastille. Since that time I have been made happy by hearing, that public affairs have taken a more favorable turn in France.

A few weeks ago, I was favored with a visit from the Minister of France, his sister, her son, and M. du Pont. They have made great journeys this fall, having traversed the whole distance between New Hampshire and this place, and been at the Indian treaty at Fort Schuyler. I can with pleasure inform you, that the Count de Moustier seems at present to be perfectly well satisfied with the country and to be persuaded that some little uneasinesses about etiquette, originated from misunderstanding alone, and not from intention. He appears, also, to be heartily inclined to promote the interests of the two Countries, by improving and extending their commercial intercourse. A little after the departure of this party, two other

[67] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

gentlemen of your recommendation, viz. Mr. Warville and M. St. Frie[68] came likewise to Mount Vernon. I found them intelligent, discreet and disposed to receive favorable impressions of America.

I must now refer you, My dear Marquis, for every species of News here, and for the actual state of politics on this Continent to Mr. Gouverneur Morris, who will have the honor of delivering this letter, and with whose abilities and merits you are too intimately acquainted to require that I should enlarge upon them.

Mrs. Washington, and all with us make it a point to annex their compliments to mine, for Madame la Fayette, yourself, my name-sake, and the other children. You will not forget, my dear Sir, that I have your promise for bringing Madame la Fayette to America, whenever you shall gratify it with another visit. I am, &c.[69]

To ROBERT DICK

Mount Vernon, November 27, 1788.

Sir: I have received your letter of the 15th. inst.[70] and as I am desireous of giving every encouragement in my power to that useful class of men who understand agriculture, and wish to settle in this country, I am sorry that you was not sufficiently explicit in your letter to enable me to answer you more decidedly upon the subject of your enquieries. If your view is to purchase a large tract of land and introduce a number of settlers upon it from Scotland, this country certainly offers itself under every advantage for that purpose whether you consider the facility of the terms upon it, can be obtained, the climate, soil, or

[68] Saint Tries (Saint Tres, Saint Frie).
[69] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers.*
[70] Dick had written from Philadelphia. His letter is in the *Washington Papers.*

local situation. I have myself large tracts of Land in the western parts of this State, equal in point of soil and situation to any in the world, which I would either dispose of, or lease out, upon such terms as might be very advantageous to the settler, and as the emigrations to that part of the country are so very considerable there is little danger to be apprehended from the Indians on the Eastern side of the Ohio. I have also a number of tracts of very excellent land on this side of the Allegany Mountains in the Counties of Berkley, Fauquier, Frederick and Loudoun in this State, but they do not lie in one body so as to accommodate a number of persons together; and I believe it would be difficult to find a single tract large enough for this purpose in the possession of any one person on this side of the Alegany mountains.

If your design is to superintend and direct the management of some Gentleman's Estate it is necessary for you to be furnished with testimonials of your abilities for that purpose of your sobriety and good conduct and recommendation from some Character or Characters known in this Country.

If you will let me know more particularly what your intention and plans are, I shall perhaps be able to give you an answer more to your satisfaction. I am, etc.[71]

To GOUVERNEUR MORRIS

Mount Vernon, November 28, 1788.

Dear Sir: I had the pleasure to receive by the last Mail your letter dated the 12th. of this month. I am much obliged by your offer of executing commissions for me in Europe, and shall take the liberty of charging you with one only. I wish to have a good gold watch procured for my own use; not a small, trifling (nor finically ornamented one) but a watch well executed in

[71] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers.*

point of workmanship; and of about the size and kind of that which was procured by Mr. Jefferson for Mr. Madison (which was large and flat) I imagine Mr. Jefferson can give you the best advice on the subject, as I am told this species of watches, which I have described, can be found cheaper and better fabricated in Paris than at London. To defray the cost I enclose a Bill for 25 Guineas on London, payable at sight. Should the expense be greater (for I would have a good watch) I will take care to reimburse it to you. I want nothing more with it but a handsome key.

In conformity to your suggestion, I enclose to your care letters for the Count de Rochambeau, the Marquis de Chastellux, the Marquis de lafayette, and Mr. Jefferson, in France; to Lord Fairfax, Mr. Wakelin Welch of London: and Mr. Arthur Young, in England: and to the Baron Van der Capellan and M. Mandrillon, in Holland. You must be sensible, that my acquaintances with persons in Europe must either have been formed while they were in this Country, or by literary communications. Tho' there are very many persons, from whom I have casually received letters; yet, I conceived that an acquaintance with some of them would not be desirable, and that I had scarcely sufficient intimacy with others to send letters of recommendation to them. As it is many years since I have seen the present Lord Fairfax, I have alluded to that circumstance in a letter to him. The character and usefulness of Mr. Young, with whom I have corresponded since the peace, you know perfectly well. M. Mandrillon is a Merchant and a man of letters. He has written many things in favour of America, and seems to be an enthusiast as to the prosperity of this Country. The Baron Van der Capellan may be in the Land of Spirits for aught I know not having had a letter from him these five years. I could have addressed a line to Mr. Dumas the former agent of the

United States at the Hague, but he is too much under a cloud to be of any utility to you. In case your travels should lead you to Ireland, I have given a letter to Sir Edward Newenham. But I apprehend you will have, for all places, as many as you can find occasion for. I have delivered your letter to Colo Humphreys who writes by this conveyance. You will be pleased to accept my thanks for the exotic animals which you are meditating to send.[72]

As to what you hint respecting myself, towards the close of your letter; I have really but little leisure or inclination to enter on the discussion of a subject so unpleasant to me. You may be persuaded, in the first place; that I hope the choice will not fall upon me. And, in the second, that, if it should, and if I can with any degree of propriety decline, I shall certainly contrive to get rid of the acceptance. But if after all, a kind of inevitable necessity should impel me to a different fate; it will be time enough to yield to its impulse, when it can no longer be resisted.

Mrs. Washington joins me in wishes that you may have a prosperous voyage; and that, when your objects shall be accomplished, you may have an equally happy return to your friends. You will always do me the justice to believe, that I remain with sincere regard, &c.[73]

To HENRY LEE

Mount Vernon, November 30, 1788.

Dear Sir: We are informed that this is the day appointed for the departure of Mrs. Fendall for Norfolk, if rightly so it is not probable I shall have the pleasure of seeing you before your

[72] Chinese pigs and geese.

[73] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

On November 28 Washington wrote very brief notes of introduction for Morris to Wakelin Welch, Baron Van der Capellan de Pol, and Sir Edward Newenham. Copies of these notes are in the "Letter Book" in the *Washington Papers*.

embarkation; and in that case, our proposed exchange of Magnolia for 500 Acres of Kentucke Land stands upon uncertainty.

It is true I am not fond of buying a Pig in a Poke (as the phraze is) especially too of a sort which may be expensive to me, but under the circumstances attending the choice of the Land you offer me for Magnolia,[74] there can be no doubt of the quality of it I am willing to confirm the bargain because it is my intention to breed Males *only* and for that reason wish to avoid expence of keeping Magnolia: he is in high health, spirits, and flesh, can be delivered in good order.

If we should not have the pleasure of seeing any of your family before their departure, Mrs. Washington, and all under this Roof, unite in the most affectionate Compliments to Mrs. Fendall and Mrs. Lee accompanied with fervant wishes for the perfect recovery of their health. I am, etc.[75]

To THOMAS LEWIS

Mount Vernon, December 1, 1788.

Sir: Your letter of the 27th of August, and the papers therewith transmitted, did not reach me till very lately.

If the fear of deceiving me, by not being able immediately, to procure tenants for my Lands, was the only cause that prevented your accepting the agency which I requested you take upon yourself, I am very sorry that you declined it, for the same reason would operate, with equal force, upon any other person; and your local situation, and the confidence which I place in you are such as to induce me again to request that you will accept this trust, and I therefore enclose my former terms and the plats of the Land.

[74] Magnolio (or Magnolia).
[75] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

It is not my wish or desire that you should put yourself to any inconvenience in this business, neither do I expect that you will procure tenants for my land in preference to your own which is under the same predicament, but as it is necessary for me to have some person in the neighbourhood empowered to act in my behalf in case any opportunities of seating, or otherwise disposing of the land, should occur, who could take care that my property was not encroached upon, and who would from time to time, inform me of the State of it, I must again beg the favor of you; Sir, to take charge of this business, and for your trouble and agency therein a compensation will be cheerfully made.

As my great object in wishing to settle those Lands is, that they may be profitable to me at a future period, I have not an idea of deriving any immediate advantage from them, and the terms therefore, might be very easy to settle, no further than to exonerate myself from any expences arising from taxes &c. provided the time for which they were leased be limited, and not unreasonably extended, that I might know when they will revert to me.

You conceive that the division of some of the large tracts of land held by individuals into small parcels, and their being sold, would greatly facilitate the settlement of them. I do not know that I should have any objection to such a division and sale of mine, provided it was laid off in such a manner as that the sale of one part or parcel should not interfere with, or impair the value of the other. The tract which lays on the Ohio, near the little Kanawa, I would not wish to dispose of, nor to lease if for a term exceeding ten years, because its vicinity to the Settlement formed on the Muskingum will, in my opinion render it peculiarly valuable at no very distant period.

There is now a regular post established between Pittsburg and Philadelphia, any letters, therefore, put into the post office

at the former place or sent to Richmond and lodged in the office there; will be sure to reach me, and I shall be much obliged to you Sir, to let me hear from you by the first opportunity which offers of depositing letters in either of the above mentioned offices after this (which Mr. Clandenning is so good as to take charge of) gets to your hands, and shall also thank you for such after communications upon the subject as you may find it convenient or necessary to make.

With very great esteem etc.[76]

To DAVID STUART

Mount Vernon, December 2, 1788.

Dear Sir: A house rarely without Company, and many other matters which claimed my attention, have prevented my acknowledging in the manner I wished to do, the receipt of your two favors of the 15th. and 25th. Olto. and *now* it is rather out of Season to touch upon matters which have been finally decided on in the Legislature of the State.

That that body has displayed the most malignant (and if one may be allowed the expression, the most unwarrantable) disposition toward the New Government, in all its acts respecting it, need no other evidence than their public records; but upon what ground they have undertaken to assert things which the Representatives of the people, chosen for the express purpose in Convention, have not authorized them to do; lays with the wisdom of the Majority of that Assembly to explain: nor will it redound much to their honor I conceive if in the ultimate appeal to the people, there should (as you have intimated) be seven out of the ten Representatives on the fœderal side. But excuse me, my dear Sir, when I give it to you as my opinion, that you are reckoning without your host as the phrase is; not but that there

[76] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

may be such a proportion through the state who are friends to the adopted Constitution, but they either do not see the necessity, are too indolent or too much engaged in other pursuits to come forward, or too much disunited among themselves to act in unison, while those of the other description (or I am much mistaken) will be formed into one solid Phalanx. Need I go out of this district for proof? In my opinion Chatham Fitzhugh or yourself are the characters most likely to unite the suffrages of the federal Interest in it. Neither will serve. What is the consequence? Why, a third is proposed in whom all cannot agree, a fourth, and a fifth will have advocates, and neither will be chosen. This is my idea of the matter. I give it to you however in confidence for I have been already dragged into public view on these occasions more than is agreeable to me.

It would seem to me, good policy if the Fœderal delegates (now in Assembly) of each district to confer freely together and resolve to support the fittest character therein; at any rate not to be disunited. Sorry indeed should I be, if Mr. Madison meets the same fate in the district of which Orange composes a part, as he has done in the Assembly; and to me it seems not at all improbable.

A day or two ago I wrote you a hasty line (being unwilling to miss the conveyance afforded by the Green brier Members) enclosing a packet for Colo. Thomas Lewis I hope it got safe to your hands, and in time to be forwarded by Colo Clendenning. On a reperusal of Colo Lewis's Letter it would appear as if his *only* objection, or at least the principal one, to his acceptance of the trust proposed, was a doubt (under the peculiar circumstances of that part of the Country) of his executing it to my satisfaction. But as this may be made by any man anxious to perform well, an agency under similar circumstances, I have requested him (if this be all) to enter upon the discharge of it. Notwithstanding, if by any indirect enquiries, you can discover

that he is too indolent, or in other respects unfit to be entrusted, and will inform me of it in time to recover my Letter, and name another, I certainly shall do it. There is one objection to Colo Lewis, but it is not confined to him alone, to *every* Man of property, who by his local situation has it in his power to serve me with conveniency it may apply with equal force. I mean his having much Land of his own to Rent or Sell, a preference to which it must be expected will be given.

The expensive manner in which I live (contrary to my wishes, but really unavoidable); the bad years of late, and my consequent short crops have occasioned me to run in debt, and to feel *more sensibly* the want of money, than I have ever done at any period of my whole life. And obliges me to look forward to every source from whence I have a right to expect relief. Under these circumstances I must ask you what prospect I have, and in what time (after it becomes due) I may expect to receive the present years annuity from the Estate of Mr. Custis? In a letter which I wrote to you sometime ago I requested the favor of you to procure for me (and I wish it to be brought up when you come that I may be in no suspence about it) some Tobacco seed of the sort called little Frederick. That in my first essay, will be approaching as near Sweet scented as I dare venture. Permit me to remind you of this request.

Mrs. Stuart is not returned from Mount Airy that we know of, all of this family join in best wishes for you and I am etc.[77]

To JONATHAN TRUMBULL

Mount Vernon, December 4, 1788.

My dear Trumbull: It is some time since I had the pleasure of receiving your favor of the 28th of October; but, as I had

[77] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

nothing particular to send in return, I postponed writing until the present time, to see if any thing new would turn up. Nothing of importance has occurred. But in the mean time, I was extremely happy to find that your State was going on so well as to fœderal affairs; and you will permit me to say that I have been not a little pleased with observing that your name stood so high in the nomination of Representatives to Congress.[78]

In general the appointments to the Senate seem to have been very happy. Much will depend upon having disinterested and respectable characters in both Houses. For if the new Congress should be composed of characters in whom the citizens will naturally place a confidence, it will be a most fortunate circumstance for conciliating their good will to the government. And then, if the government can be carried on without touching the purses of the people too deeply, I think it will not be in the power of its Adversaries to throw every thing into confusion by effecting premature amendments. A few Months will, however, shew what we are to expect.

I believe you know me sufficiently well, my dear Trumbull, to conceive that I am very much perplexed and distressed in my own mind, respecting the subject to which you allude. If I should (unluckily for me) be reduced to the necessity of giving an answer to the question, which you suppose will certainly be put to me, I would fain do what is in all respects best. But how can I know what is best, or on what I shall determine? May Heaven assist me in forming a judgment: for at present I see nothing but clouds and darkness before me. Thus much I may safely say to you in confidence; if ever I should, from any apparent necessity, be induced to go from home in a public character again, it will certainly be the greatest sacrifice of

[78] Trumbull was elected a Representative from Connecticut from 1789 to 1795. In 1795 he was elected a Senator, from which he resigned in June, 1796, to become Lieutenant Governor of Connecticut.

feeling and happiness that ever was or ever can be made by him, who will have, in all situations, the pleasure to profess himself yours, &c.[79]

*To ARTHUR YOUNG

Mount Vernon, December 4, 1788.

Sir: I have been favored with the receipt of your letter dated the 1st. day of July; and have to express my thanks for the three additional Volumes of the Annals which have also come safely to hand.

The more I am acquainted with agricultural affairs the better I am pleased with them. Insomuch that I can no where find so great satisfaction, as in those innocent and useful pursuits. In indulging these feelings, I am led to reflect how much more delightful to an undebauched mind is the task of making improvements on the earth, than all the vain glory which can be acquired from ravaging it, by the most uninterrupted career of conquests. The design of this observation is only to shew how much, as a member of human Society, I feel myself obliged by your labours to render respectable and advantageous an employment, which is more congenial to the natural dispositions of mankind than any other.

I am also much indebted to you for the enquiries you was so kind as to make respecting the threshing machines. Notwithstanding I am pretty well convinced from your account that the new invented Scotch Machine is of superior merit to Winlaws; yet I think to wait a little longer before I procure one. In the intermediate time, I am not insensible to your obliging offers of executing this or any other Commission for me; and shall take the liberty to avail myself of them, as occasions may require.

[79] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers.*

I would willingly have sent you a lock of the wool of my sheep, agreeably to your desire, but it is all wrought into cloth, and I must therefore defer it until after the next shearing. You may expect it by some future conveyance. A Manufacturer from Leeds, who was lately here, judges it to be of about the same quality with the English wool in general, though there is always a great difference in the fineness of different parts of the same fleece. I cannot help thinking that encreasing and improving our breed of Sheep would be one of the most profitable speculations we could undertake; especially in this part of the Continent, where we have so little winter that they require either no dry fodder, or next to none; and where we are sufficiently distant from the frontiers not to be troubled with Wolves or other wild vermen which prevent the Inhabitants there from keeping flocks. Though we do not feed our sheep upon leaves, as you mention they do in some parts of France; yet we cannot want for pastures enough suitable for them. I am at a loss therefore to account for the disproportion between their value and that of black cattle; as well as for our not augmenting the number. So persuaded am I of the practicability and advantage of it, that I have raised near 200 lambs upon my farm this year. I am glad to find that you are likely to succeed in propagating the Spanish breed of sheep in England, and that the wool does not degenerate. For the multiplication of useful animals is a common blessing to mankind. I have a prospect of introducing into this Country a very excellent race of animals also, by means of the liberality of the King of Spain. One of the Jacks which he was pleased to present to me (the other perished at Sea) is about 15 hands high, his body and Limbs very large in proportion to his height; and the Mules which I have had from him appear to be extremely well formed for Service. I have likewise a Jack and two Jennets from Malta,

of a very good size, which the Marquis de la Fayette sent to me. The Spanish Jack seems calculated to breed for heavy, slow draught; and the others for the Saddle or lighter carriages. From these, altogether, I hope to secure a race of extraordinary goodness, which will stock the Country. Their longevity and cheap keeping will be circumstances much in their favor. I am convinced, from the little experiments I have made with the ordinary Mules, (which perform as much labour, with vastly less feeding than horses) that those of a superior quality will be the best cattle we can employ for the harness. And indeed, in a few years, I intend to drive no other in my carriage: having appropriated for the sole purpose of breeding them, upwards of 20 of my best Mares.

Since I wrote to you formerly respecting the objection made by my labourers to the weight of the Ploughs; I have had sufficient experience to overcome the ill-founded prejudice, and find them answer the purpose exceedingly well. I have been laying out my farm into fields of nearly the same dimensions, and assigning crops to each until the year 1795. The building of a Brick Barn has occupied much of my attention this Summer. It is constructed somewhat according to the plan you had the goodness to send me: but with some additions. It is now, I believe, the largest and most convenient one in this Country. Our seasons in this Country (or at least in this part of it) have been so much in the two opposite extremes of dry and wet for the two summers past that many of my experiments have failed to give a satisfactory result: or I would have done myself the pleasure of transmitting it to you. In the first part of last Summer, the rains prevailed beyond what has been known in the memory of man; yet the Crops in most parts of the United States are good. They were much injured, however, in those places on my farm, where the soil is mixed with clay and so

stiff as to be liable to retain the moisture. I planted a large quantity of Potatoes, of which only those that were put in as late as the end of June, have produced tolerably well. I am notwithstanding more and more convinced of the prodigious usefulness of this root and that it is very little, if any thing of an exhauster. I have a high opinion also of Carrots. The same unfavorableness of the Season has rendered it unimportant to give a detail of my experiments this year in flax, though I had sowed 25 bushels of the seed. In some spots it has yielded well, in others very indifferently, much injured by weeds and lodgits.

As to what you suggest at the close of your letter, respecting the publication of extracts from my correspondence in your Annals, I hardly know what to say. I certainly highly approve the judicious execution of your well-conceived project of throwing light on a subject, which may be more conducive than almost any other to the happiness of mankind. On the one hand, it seems scarcely generous or proper that any farmer, who receives benefit from the facts contained in such publications, should withhold his mite of information from the general stock. On the other hand, I am affraid it might be imputed to me as a piece of ostentation, if my name should appear in the work. And surely it would not be discreet for me to run the hazard of incurring this imputation; unless some good might probably result to Society, as some kind of compensation for it. Of this I am not a judge. I can only say for myself, that I have endeavoured in a state of tranquil retirement to keep myself as much from the eye of the world as I possibly could. I have studiously avoided, as much as was in my power, to give any cause for ill-natured or impertinent comments on my conduct: and I should be very unhappy to have anything done on my behalf (however distant in itself from impropriety) which should give occasion for one officious tongue

to use my name with indelicacy. For I wish most devoutly to glide silently and unnoticed through the remainder of life. This is my heart felt wish; and these are my undisguised feelings. After having submitted them confidentially to you, I have such a reliance upon your prudence, as to leave it with you to do what you think, upon a full consideration of the matter shall be wisest and best. I am &c.[80]

To MRS. ANNA WELSH

Mount Vernon, December 8, 1788.

Madam: I received your melancholy letter by the last mail and could not delay to express my sympathetic condolence on your unhappy Situation. It is indeed distressing to me to find that a lady whose Husband and Brother perished in the service of their country should be reduced to a precarious dependence on others for that support which she might otherwise have received from them. Your affecting case and others of a similar nature make me almost weary of living in a world where I can do little but pity, without having the power to relieve such unmerited misfortunes. If my means were as ample, as my wishes, be assured, Madam, I am too well persuaded of the hardship of your condition and the merit of your Brother not to exert myself effectually for your Succor. A private Citizen as I am, I know not what I can do (without the appearance of assuming too much upon myself) except to give a Certificate of the facts, respecting the brilliant service which your Brother performed, at the moment when he met with the wound that occasioned his death, together with a private opinion annexed to it. Of that Certificate you may make such use as you shall

[80] From a photostat of the original kindly furnished by Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach, of New York City.

think proper in application to the board of Treasury, the commissioners for settling the accounts of the army or any other persons to whom the business may appertain. Recommending you most devoutly to that being, who will take care of the Widow and the Fatherless, even though they should be neglected by an ungratefull Country, I remain with ardent wishes for your happiness Madam your etc.

P. S. there can be no doubt but that as Heir to your Brother you are entitled to that proportion of Land, promised to all Officers of his Rank, who served thro the war or died in the Service.[81]

*CERTIFICATE

December 8, 1788.

I do hereby certify to all whom it may concern, that Captn. George Hurlbut of the Second Regiment of Light Dragoons received a wound in the gallant performance of his duty at Tarry Town in the summer of 1781, of which after having languished in the most exquisite pains until the 8th. of May 1783, he expired: And I do hereby farther make known (as my private opinion) from the very brave manner in which he saved a considerable quantity of Stores, by swimming on board a vessel and extinguishing the flames that had been kindled by the enemy amidst a severe fire from their Ships (for which he then received my particular thanks in the public orders of the Army) as well as from his having survived until after the war was in fact concluded by the Signature of the provisional Treaty of Peace, that the Heir or Heirs of the said Captain George Hurlbut ought, in point of Justice and the reason of the case, to be entitled to the Commutation of his half-pay, in as full a

[81] The text is from a combination of the "Letter Book" and a copy in the collection of Judge E. A. Armstrong of Princeton, N. J. Where the spelling differed the more correct orthography was followed.

manner as if he had not dyed until after the signing of the definitive Treaty of Peace, or until after the formal disbanding of the Army by a Resolution of Congress.[82]

To HENRY LEE

Mount Vernon, December 12, 1788.

Dear Sir: If you wish for a more formal Pedigree than the enclosed, return the one sent and an other shall be framed by the time you send for Magnolia, when a Bill of Sale shall also be forwarded. And as you have it not in your power at present (for want of the Papers) to pass a deed of Conveyance to me, for the 5000 Acres of Land in Kentucke agreeably to your Memorandum. I should be glad to receive some instrument (in case of accidents) by which to establish my claim to it,

Your intention to decline offering yourself for the Westmoreland district since you have received advice of Mr. John Page's doing it, is an unequivocal proof if proof was wanting, of your friendly dispositions to the New Government; but whether it is the most effectual way of serving it, is another question. Whether Mr. Page's interest, or yours, is best in the district (I am not sufficiently informed to decide) but of one thing I am sure and that is, that these matters (to stand upon equal ground with the opponents of the Constitution) ought to be the result of previous consultation and arrangement. I am, etc.[83]

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[82] From a photostat of the original kindly furnished by Judge E. A. Armstrong, of Princeton, N. J.

On December 10 William Garner entered into agreement with George Washington to serve as overseer to the plantation in Clifton's Neck for one year from December 10. This agreement, in the writing of Tobias Lear and signed by Washington and Garner, is in the *Washington Papers*. It is continued by signed memoranda of Garner and George Augustine Washington until Dec. 10, 1792. Upon the Lear text George Washington has made sundry pencil interlineations, showing that a similar agreement was made with William Stuart, as overseer of the River Farm. No date, however, is indicated.

[83] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

To LEWIS MORRIS

Mount Vernon, December 13, 1788.

Dear Sir: The letter which you did me the honor to write to me on the 14th of November, has been duly received.

I was well apprised of the sacrifices which you had made and the services you had rendered to your Country, during the progress of the late Revolution. Unfortunately, from the want of a more efficient general government, the zealous advocates for and patriotic sufferers in the acquisition of American Independence, have not as yet (in very many instances) enjoyed the full fruits of their labours. The prospect of national and individual prosperity, it is hoped and believed, is now more favorable than it hath hitherto been. It appears to me, that we shall want nothing, but good dispositions, industry and frugality, under the proposed System, to make us a truly happy people. While I am convinced that the motives for the intimation you have given in your letter are laudable; you will permit me to say that the subject, so far as it relates to myself, is peculiarly embarrassing and distressing. I have ever flattered myself, that I should be permitted to pass the remainder of my days in the bosom of retirement. I still have the sincerest hopes, that I shall not be called to a situation, where it might be incumbent on me to have any agency in disposing of appointments, under the general government.

You will, therefore, be pleased to excuse me from entering upon any anticipation whatsoever; and at the sametime, to do me the justice of believing that I entertain a very great regard for yourself and family. Mrs. Washington and myself desire that our compliments may be presented to Mrs. Morris. I am, etc.[84]

[84] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers.*

*REFERENCES AND OBSERVATIONS

Mount Vernon, December 15, 1788.

The lines that are lined with red designates the land which belongs to G: Washington on the West side of Little Hunting Creek.

The black dotted lines represent the several public roads which pass through the same, to and from the Ferry, all of which are laid down from accurate Surveys in order to shew the *actual* situation of these roads and their connection but more especially with a view to prove how injurious to private property the *first* are; by passing in so many different directions through a tract of Land the whole of which may, and is expected soon will be, enclosed; as tide water and the fences of the present Plantations do in a great measure surround it already.

The emoluments of this Ferry [85] (and the Ferry is the cause of these Roads) bear *no* proportion, to the disadvantage of suffering this tract to lay as a Common; and to the expense of making lanes thro' the Plantations: to which may be added the injury which is sustained by Poachers, who, under pretense of searching for their stock on my grounds oftentimes make mistakes and carry off mine.

For remedying these inconveniences it is proposed. Instead of the roads ABC—ADE & the cross road BD, to establish those which are delineated by blue lines; all of which will pass through the same land, but in a less injurious manner, for it is intended to make a lane from the ferry at C, by I, to the Mill at G: and from thence by K to G at the tumbling dam (which is as straight as the Mill run, Mill race and Swamps will let it go) to the main road at H. And for the convenience of those Families who are

[85] The ferry was at the point of land about midway between the Mansion House and Dogue Creek.

below the range of hills on which Mrs. Darrel[86] and Mrs. Slaughter[87] live, it is proposed to open the road LMG, the whole of which, except from L to M will be on the land of G: Washington, adjoining the line which divides his land from the land of Colo. Mason. All of which roads will be opened at the expense of G: Washington; and the old ones continued to be used untill this is accomplished. The one from E at the Mill to Colch'r and to remain.

These alterations will produce the following effects, viz.

On the one hand, the distance from the Ferry at C to Alexandria; to and from which few passengers pass (the ferry in Town being more used) will be encreased one mile and three quarters and 40 perches. On the other hand, from the said Ferry at C to Colchester, New-gate, Ravensworth and all other parts of the county, to, from, and by which those who cross at this ferry chiefly come, and go, will be shortened one mile and a quarter and Six perches; and the road changed infinitely for the better. In like manner the road from L to H by G will reduce the distance to Colchester and other western parts of the County, and in that distance (that is from L to H) there is not one hill, or rising to be found.

To these observations it may not be improper to add, that the ferry, even if the inconveniences here enumerated did not exist, is by no means productive; for all the cash that is received from it will hardly pay for the Boats and necessary attendance. and it often happens that both are frequently detained on the Maryland side for several days together by the No wt. winds which blow directly across and against which when strong there is no returning. Instances are not wanting of the Boat and hands (in the Winter season) being detained there 'till Ice has formed

[86] Mrs. Sampson Darrell.
[87] Mrs. Ann Slaughter.

to the great endangerment of the first and loss of the labour of the latter for a fortnight on a stretch.

The inconveniences of these roads (though always felt in a certain degree) were not of great magnitude whilst others held landed property within the red lines, but this being no longer the case, the subscriber at a considerable expense having become the sole proprietor of these lands, principally with a view to *inclose them* and to *ease* the Plantations within of the burthensome lanes wch. pass through them, the injury *now* which would result from the continuance of them is hardly to be [mutilated] and affords a well grounded hope for relief.[88]

*To ELÉONOR FRANÇOIS ÉLIE, COMTE DE MOUSTIER

Mount Vernon, December 15, 1788.

Sir: I am now taking up my pen to acknowledge the receipt of the two letters, which your Excellency did me the honor to write to me on the 21st. and 26th. of last Month. While I request you to receive my thanks for the Memoirs on the trade to the West Indies, for the memorandum concerning the different kinds of Coal Tar, and for the dessertation on Cements proper for the preservation of perishable substances; I must entreat you to be more especially persuaded of my sensibility for the flattering place I have the satisfaction to hold in your remembrance.

From the badness of the weather after your departure from Mount Vernon, we were all under great anxiety, lest your jour-

[88] The original memoranda, of which this is an extract, is in the Fairfax County (Va.) court house. They seem to refer to the map of Mount Vernon and adjacent lands, drawn by Washington in November, 1788, and reproduced in facsimile in the *George Washington Atlas* (Bicentennial folio edition, Lawr. Martin, editor), plate 6.

ney should have been attended with distressing inconveniences, particularly to the delicate constitution of Madame de Brehan. The two Mrs. Washington's rejoice with me that it has not been followed with fatal consequences and hope that, having had so severe a seasoning, she will find less detriment to her health from the rigours of the approaching winter, than she did from the last. We pray you to make our most cordial good wishes for her health and happiness acceptable to her, with a renewal of our assurances, that we anticipate the purest satisfaction in cultivating the acquaintance which has been so happily formed, and which was only rendered the less perfect, hitherto, on account of the shortness of your visit.

I was in hopes that on your arrival at New York you would have received official and satisfactory intelligence from your Country. But, agreeably to the English adage "that no news is good news," we should flatter ourselves that affairs are taking a favorable turn and that every thing will end to the mutual content of the King and Nation.

Your observations on the revival of the regular communications between France and America: and on the importance of having a precise knowledge of the interests of the two nations more generally diffused, are certainly very just. I cannot but accord with you in earnest expectations, that a good system for the purpose will be speedily instituted. I believe I told your Excellency before, I was so little conversant in commercial matters, that I desired but small stress might be placed upon my opinions. It may be necessary to repeat this observation in apology for what I am about to say on the Commerce between this Country and the West India Islands. I have every reason to wish that this trade might, if possible, be made reciprocally beneficial. Of that however, I entertain some doubts. For

hitherto I have thought it of much less importance to the United States, than people commonly imagine it to be. My reasons for this opinion were, first, because I could not learn upon enquiry, that it turned out much, if any, to the advantage of those concerned in it; and secondly because all, or nearly all, the produce imported from thence (cotton excepted) might be considered as articles of luxury, and the use of which would in a great measure be dispensed with, if they were not so easily to be obtained. But my greatest reason for supposing the trade to be detrimental to us was, that Rum, the principal article received from thence, is, in my opinion, the bane of morals and the parent of idleness.

I have been informed that before the War, while all the British Islands were wholly open to our Vessels and some of those of other nations partly so, the trade (by enabling the Adventurers to make a circuitous remittance to Europe) was attended with pretty certain, but very small profits: and that since the war it has been generally a loosing speculation, even in the State where it has been carried on to the greatest extent, and with more œconomy in the out-fits and navigation than elsewhere. But it will be asked whether the States which produce Horses &ca. for this trade, would not be greatly injured, in case of its annihilation, for want of a Market to dispose of that produce? I answr. that, in my judgment, it would be better to alter the mode of farming; and to raise Sheep and black Cattle instead of Horses. There can be no want of sufficient demands for Wool and Beef, nor can I conceive that it would be a difficult affair to substitute the growth of these, in the room of less useful articles. Then, I could wish to see the direct commerce with France encouraged to the greatest degree; and that almost all the foreign spirits which we consumed should consist of the Wines and Brandies made in that Country. The use of those

liquors would at least be more innocent to the health and morals of the people, than the thousands of Hogsheads of poisonous Rum which are annually consumed in the United States. And, upon further reflection, it seems obvious to me, that there are articles enough in France, which are wanted here; and others in turn produced here, which are wanted in France; to form the basis of a beneficial, extensive, and durable Commerce.

The discovery of extracting Tar from Coal is a proof of the investigating genius of the present age. In whatever Country useful inventions are found out, and improvements made; I rejoice in contemplating that those inventions or improvements may, in some way or another, be turned to the common good of mankind. The Season will be so far advanced before I shall have compleatly finished covering my Barn, that I can be able to do nothing more to it this year.

I have formerly been somewhat curious in making experiments relative to Cements, particularly in that which derives its name from Loriol; but have never been able to succeed to my wishes. I was delighted with the idea that the [Cement used by the Antients had been in all probability rediscovered. Some time in the late war, I employed three or four of the principal French Engineers in our army, to make some mortar into a consolidated Mass, according to the printed directions for making Loriol's Cement; with a copy of which they were furnished. But the result, after very many trials, was infinitely distant from what we had been led to expect. As the process was strictly in conformity to the prescribed rules, I know not to what cause the failure of success should be attributed. With sentiments of esteem &c.][89]

[89] From a photostat of the original in the *Paris Archives, Aff. Etrang., Mems. et Docs., E. U.*, vol. 6. The portion within brackets is supplied from the "Letter Book" in the *Washington Papers.*

To THOMAS NEWTON, JUNIOR

Mount Vernon, December 17, 1788.

Sir: I have received your letter of the 5th. Ulto. The last load of Shingles arrived safe, and as it is not in my power to remit the Cash to discharge your Account and Mr. Brents for the freight of the Shingles I ha veshipped 50 Bbls. of flour on board his Vessel which I have requested him to dispose of immediately and pay your Account of £25.15.9 which I presume will be done.

The scarcity of Cash is such at present that I find it almost impossible, with the greatest exertions, to obtain sufficient to answer my ordinary and necessary demands; this naturally leads me to have recourse to my old debts; and among others I should be glad if there was a prospect of obtaining any part of those contracted by the sale of my flour &c. sent to you to dispose of on Commission. I am, etc.[90]

To JOHN BRENT

Mount Vernon, December 17, 1788.

Sir: Enclosed is a Bill of Lading for 50 Blbs. of flour which I have shipped on board of your Sloop, and would wish you to dispose of for me upon the best terms you can. From the proceeds thereof you will please to receive the Amount of your Account of £20.1.9 for freight of Shingles, pay Thomas Newton Junr. Esqr. £25.15.9 for 64,450 Shingles at 6/ per ℳ, and after deducting what charges may arise from the flour, if you can so accommodate it as to have the balance passed to my Credit in Account with Colo Fitzgerald it will save the trouble of remitting it to me.

[90]From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

As the sale of this flour is the only means which I at present have to discharge these accounts you will dispose of it as speedily as may be. I am, etc.[91]

To PAUL BENTALOUR

Mount Vernon, December 19, 1788.

Sir: I have received your polite letter of the 11th. Inst. accompanied by the nuts &c. which you were so obliging as to send me, and for which I must beg you to accept my thanks. I shall plant them at a proper season, and shall be very happy, if they can be propagated in this Country, but I doubt very much whether they will thrive here or not, for I have, within these few years, planted several kinds of seeds, trees &c. which are natives of a warmer climate and have had the mortification to find them destroyed by the severity of our winters. These, however may have better success.

I am much obliged to you Sir, for your polite offer of executing any Commission that I might wish in the Isle of France or that part of the Globe where you say your partner is bound; but there is nothing, that I at present know of, which I am desireous of having executed there. I am, etc.[91]

To WARNER LEWIS

Mount Vernon, December 19, 1788.

Dear Sir: As it has happened that the only mode by which a pretty considerable debt which is due to me, can be discharged with any convenience to the Estate that owes it, is to receive a small tract of Land in Gloucester County and I believe not far from you in payment; May I take the liberty of requesting the favor of you to give me your opinion of its worth with a short detail of the quality of the Soil growth thereon, proportion and

[91] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers.*

sort of Wood-land to that which is cleared, Improvements (if any), with the advantages and disadvantages attending its local situation.

The following description of it I have had from the Gentleman who wishes me to take it, see Mr. John Dandridges letter dated 6th. December 1788.[92]

Of two evils which present themselves to my view in the present case namely to distress a worthy family, or take Land which I do not want in lieu of Money which I really do want I prefer the latter. The gentleman thinks worth £1000. For a farthing less than it is worth, I do not desire to possess it: but I wish this to be ascertained by a disinterested Gentleman in whose judgment I can confide, for this reason I appeal to you without offering an apology for the trouble it must necessarily give you to comply with my request.

Butler says "everything is worth what it will fetch", but in these times of scarcity everything will not fetch what it is worth, and it is for that reason I have asked your opinion respecting the latter; to which I pray you to add to what amount you conceive it would be rented, for as to selling, I presume it is entirely out of the question I mean for cash at the sum fixed for, or it would not have been offered to me, it being well known to the present proprietor that to take the land is solely to accomodate the Estate for which he acts. With very great esteem etc.[93]

To ROBERT DICK

Mount Vernon, December 22, 1788.

Sir: I have received your letter of the 8th. Inst. and shall answer your several quæries with as much precision as the nature of the subject will admit in giving a general idea of the matter.

[92] In the *Washington Papers.*
[93] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers.*

The great body of my lands in the western Country lay on the River called the Great Kanawa not far from its confluence with the Ohio. I have also a tract of about 10,000 Acres laying on the Ohio between the mouth of the great and Little Kanawa Rivers, and about 10 miles below the Settlement on the Muskingum. All these lands are of a very excellent quality, being what are called bottoms or intervals, the soil of which is perhaps, equal to almost any known. The price of these lands, if sold, would depend much upon the terms of payment, and I am not inclined to sell them in seperate parcels unless they could be so laid off in such a manner as would prevent the injuring any part or lesseng. its value by the division. The terms upon which I am willing to lease them are to permit the settler to live three years upon the land free from Rent, and after that time shall require one third part of whatever is raised upon the Land (which I am informed is customary in that Country) or £5 per hundred Acres annually if payment is made in Cash. The latter mode of payment would be much the most agreeable to me, and I should suppose must be more advantageous to the settler than the former, for a man of any industry can certainly make more than £15 from 100 Acres of that land. The leases may run from 10 to 20 years. Markets, I should imagine would readily be found at the settlement on the Muskingum, or in the vicinity of the land, to take the produce off the farmers hands; the surplussage of the produce, after reserving sufficient to support the inhabitants in that Country, must be transported by persons who attend particularly to that business. The most convenient landing place for foreigners who are desirous of going into that Country is at Alexandria or George Town upon the Potomack River which will, probably, in a short time be rendered navigable water on the western side of the Allegany

mountains, is but about 30 miles of land carriage, so that through this channel persons and effects may be water borne to any part of the western country, except the 30 miles of land carriage above mentioned.

My lands on this side the Allegany Mountains are, I believe, all occupied, or if any part of them is untenanted it is to small to draw the attention of immigrants. I am, etc.[94]

To REVEREND WILLIAM GORDON

Mount Vernon, December 23, 1788.

Dear Sir: Your letter dated in London the 24th. of September[95] has been duly forwarded to me by your friend Mr. Hazard. As I shall be able to notice the contents but generally and briefly, I request, in the first place, that you will be pleased to accept my best thanks for your good wishes for my happiness here and hereafter. I am pleased to learn, that your History is at length completed. I conclude by the spring we may expect to be favored with a sight of it. Your mention of the several objects, you judge of national consequence to the United States, is to be esteemed among the tokens of your kind remembrance of America, and regard to its interests.

How far I may ever be connected with its political affairs is altogether a matter of uncertainty to me. My heartfelt wishes, and, I woud fain hope, the circumstances are opposed to it. I flatter myself my countrymen are so fully persuaded of my

[94] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

[95] Gordon's letter is decidedly vague; but apparently referred to Washington's letter to Col. Lewis Nicola, May 22, 1782. In speaking of the first President to be of the United States, Gordon wrote: "the good of your country is a law that you must submit to, when you are called upon to possess a power in the more honorable way by all professions and ranks of people, and which, to your everlasting credit when known, you honestly declined with the truest patriotism, when offered in an irregular manner. This is a secret which will remain till you are dead, unless I could be certain of not offending through the publication of your letter, with the suppression of the party to whom it was addressed." Gordon's letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

desire to remain in private life; that I am not without hopes and expectations of being left quietly to enjoy the repose, in which I am at present. Or, in all events, should it be their wish (as you suppose it will be) for me to come again on the Stage of public affairs, I certainly will decline it, if the refusal can be made consistently with what I conceive to be the dictates of propriety and duty. For the great Searcher of human hearts knows there is no wish in mine, beyond that of living and dying an honest man, on my own farm.

I had quite forgotten the private transaction to which you allude: nor could I recall it to mind without much difficulty. If I now recollect rightly, and I believe I do (though there were several applications made to me) I am conscious of only having done my duty. As no particular credit is due for that, and as no good but some harm might result from the publication, the letter, in my judgment, had better remain in concealment.

The prospect, that a good general government will in all human probability be soon established in America, affords me more substantial satisfaction; than I have ever before derived from any political event. Because there is a rational ground for believing that not only the happiness of my own countrymen, but that of mankind in general, will be promoted by it.

As it is really so long since I have had any occasion to make use of a cypher or key to communicate my sentiments to my Correspondents; and as it was so little probable I should ever have any occasion to express them by such modes in future, I have absolutely mislaid or entirely lost yours, with others. Besides, I have not a single idea to communicate to any person while in Europe; the knowledge of which could give any advantage to those who should be curious enough, or mean enough, to inspect my letters.

Thus much I thought it might be well to say, in apology for my not being able to comply with your request. Indeed when you

consider the domestic walk of life in which I pass my days, the multiplicity of private concerns in which I am involved, the numerous literary applications from different quarters, the round of company I have at my house, and the avocations occasioned by my being at the head of the Company for clearing the Potowmac, you will do me the justice to suppose that I can have few topics or little time for correspondencies of mere friendship, ceremony, or speculation. This, I entreat, may be accepted as the true reason, why I am not able to write to you very fully, or very regularly. Mrs. Washington joins with me in compliments to Mrs. Gordon. I remain, &c.[96]

To BENJAMIN FISHBOURN

Mount Vernon, December 23, 1788.

Sir: Your letter of the 20th. of September, has been put into my hands, only a few days ago: in acknowledging the receipt, I take occasion, with very great satisfaction, to congratulate you on your appointment to so honorable an office, as that which you now hold in the State of Georgia. For you may rest assured, Sir, that, while I feel a sincere pleasure in hearing of the prosperity of my army acquaintances in general, the satisfaction is of a nature still more interesting, when the success has attended an officer with whose services I was more particularly acquainted.

From the place you held in the military staff this must have been the case with your services: and I will say, I am truly glad to find, that your merits have been so respectfully noticed in civil life.

I wish I could with equal truth have added, that the intimation contained in your letter, had been received without producing some disagreeable emotion; or rather some embarrassment

[96] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers.*

from my not knowing well what to say on a subject, respecting which I may very possibly never have occasion to act.

The future is all a scene of darkness and uncertainty to me, on many accounts. It is known; that when I left the army, it was with a fixed determination, never to be engaged again in any public affairs. Events, which were not then foreseen, have since turned up: but, perhaps, neither those or any which can happen, will be of sufficient urgency to justify me in foregoing my fixed determination and sacrificing my domestic happiness. So much, at present, I can say with the strictest truth; that nothing but a conviction of the indispensable necessity of the measure, can ever induce me to make the sacrifice. That conviction not having been made; it would be improper for me to say any thing whatsoever on the immediate point to which you allude; and because as a farther reason if it should be my fate to administer the government, I will go into it free from engagements of every kind and nature whatsoever making, when the pretentions of every candidate are brought to view as far as my judgment shall direct me, justice, and the public good the sole objects of my pursuits. I am happy to hear that Genl. Wayne is likely to be elected to the fœderal Senate. It is my most earnest wish that none but the most disinterested, able and virtuous men may be appointed to either house of Congress: because, I think, the tranquility and happiness of this Country will depend essentially upon that circumstance. With sentiments of esteem I have the honor, etc.[97]

To EMBREE & SHOTWELL

Mount Vernon, December 26, 1788.

Gentlemen: Your letter of the 3d. Inst. came duly to hand. The price of the Clover seed is such as will induce me to take

[97] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

2000 lb. provided you can wait a few months for the payment, as I cannot make it with convenience until I can dispose of produce or something else to obtain the cash. If you incline to furnish me with the above quantity upon these terms I desire it may be shipped and sent round by the first opportunity. Should it not be convenient for you to do it you will not fail to let me know it immediately that I may obtain a supply from some other quarter. If you can get me six Bushels of good fresh Timothy Seed upon the same terms of payment, I should wish it to accompany the Clover. I am, etc.[98]

To JOHN CANNON

Mount Vernon, December 26, 1788.

Sir: As I have not recd. an Answer to my letter which I wrote to you on the 15th. of September I have reason to suppose that it never, reached your hands, and have therefore enclosed you a duplicate of it, adding, at the same time, that I have never before felt the want of Cash so severely as at present, and of course any monies that may arise from my property under your care could never come more oppertunely than at this time. I am, etc.[98]

To THOMAS SMITH

Mount Vernon, December 26, 1788.

Sir: I have received your letter of the 29 Ulto. and have forwarded the one enclosed to my Nephew Bushrod Washington who will undoubtedly give you every information in his power respecting the land of which I am wholly ignorant.

[98] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers.*

On December 26 Washington wrote to Clement Biddle that "the Vessel on board of which the Clover seed was shipped has not yet arrived, and as the River is shut up it is uncertain when she will reach Alexa." This letter is in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

As you have not acknowledged the rect. of my letter of the 15th. of September I fear it has miscarried and therefore enclose you a duplicate.

Any money that you may have received on my account may be lodged in Philadelphia as heretofore, and I can assure you it would never come more opportunely than at present. I am, etc.[99]

To THE SECRETARY AT WAR

Mount Vernon, January 1, 1789.

My dear Sir: I have received by the last Mail your favor dated the 21st. of December, and hasten to return this acknowledgment, together with the enclosed Certificate of Service[1] for Major Haskell.[2] I give that testimony with the greatest alacrity, because it always affords me satisfaction, when I can gratify the wishes of a worthy man, in perfect conformity to my own judgment.

I am much pleased to find that the accounts, which I had heard from different quarters of the encrease of federal sentiments, are confirmed by your letter. The appointment of senators taken collectively is certainly very happy. I suppose the two gentlemen appointed by this State are looked upon at the eastward as being included in that class of antifederalists, who wish to cause such great and premature amendments, as will render the government abortive. This idea, I have the best reason to believe, will be found untrue. My belief is founded upon the unequivocal assertions of Colo Grayson previous to the election; and those of Mr. R. H. Lee posterior to his election. It is also pretty well ascertained, that, if any considerable proportion of the pains shall be taken by the federalists, which

[99] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

[1] A copy of the certificate is entered in the "Letter Book" immediately following this letter.

[2] Elnathon Haskell. He had been aide to Maj. Gen. Robert Howe.

will be by the antifederalists, a majority of the representation from this State to Congress would undoubtedly be composed of the former description. At present, however, it appears very uncertain whether that will be the case or not: as several federalists, who might in all probability be chosen, have, on account of their private affairs, declined standing as Candidates; insomuch, that it is to be feared, in some instances, the Votes of the Advocates for the Constitution will be scattered and lost.

From different channels of information, it seemed probable to me (even before the receipt of your letter) that Mr. John Adams would be chosen Vice President. He will doubtless make a very good one: and let whoever may occupy the first seat, I shall be entirely satisfied with that arrangement for filling the second office. I am &c.[3]

To HENRY EMANUEL LUTTERLOH

Mount Vernon, January 1, 1789.

Sir: I have regularly received your letter dated the 27th. of November. It would take up more time than I could well spare, to notice the applications which have been made to me in consequence of the New government. In answer to as many, as I have been at leisure to acknowledge, I have invariably represented the delicacy of my situation, the impropriety of bringing such things before me, the decided resolution I had formerly made, and the ardent wishes I still entertain of remaining in a private life. You will not then expect that I should commit myself by saying any thing on a subject, which has never failed to embarrass and distress me beyond measure, whensoever it has been forced upon my consideration.

I can therefore have nothing to add, but that, with wishes for your prosperity, I am, etc.[3]

[3] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

To WILLIAM PIERCE

Mount Vernon, January 1, 1789.

Sir: As it would be altogether improper for me to anticipate any thing on the event which you suppose may happen; I only write to let you know that I have duly received your letter of November 1st. I most sincerely and fervently hope it will be found, that I shall not be in a situation to have any agency in the disposal of Fœderal appointments. For you will permit me to say, that the choice is as yet very far from being certain; and that should it (contrary to all my wishes) fall upon me, I shall certainly be disposed to decline the acceptance, if it may, by any means be done consistently with the dictates of duty.

In this to me unpleasant state of affairs when I cannot but feel myself disagreeably affected by having the subject even obliquely forced upon my mind, you will be pleased to consider my studied reserve as not in the least intended to militate against your pretensions, and as not having any reference, in the remotest degree, to an office, for which I perceive there will be several competitors.

Altho' I have thought, it would ill become me at present to be more explicit with any person on public matters; yet in all personal considerations I take a pleasure in subscribing myself with sentiments of esteem, &c.

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[4] Of Georgia.

On January 1 Washington drew up a series of instructions for James Bloxam, which he headed "A View of the Work at the Ferry and French's Plantations in the year 1789, with general directions for the executn." This paper, entirely in Washington's writing and covering 3½ folio pages, is in the *Washington Papers*. It is followed by a similar one addressed to John Fairfax, which is headed "A View of the Work at the several Plantations in the year 1789. and general directions for the execution of it." This document is 7 folio pages long. The directions to Fairfax end as follows:

"To request that my people may be at their work as soon as it is light, work till it is dark, and be diligent while they are at it, can hardly be necessary; because the propriety of it must strike every Manager who attends to my interest, or regards his own character; and who, on reflecting, must be convinced that lost labour is never to be regained; the presumption being that every labourer (male or female) does as much in the 24 hours as their strength without endangering the health, or constitution will allow of; but there is much more in what is called head work, that is in the

*To JAMES MADISON

Mount Vernon, January 2, 1789.

My dear Sir: The letters which will accompany this, for you, came to my hands by the Post on Tuesday. The direction of them is altered; and they are forwarded to Alexandria to receive a conveyance in the mail tomorrow.

Is there any safe, and tolerably expeditious mode by which letters from the Post Office in Fredericksburgh are conveyed to you? I want to write a private[5] and confidential letter to you, shortly, but am not inclined to trust to an uncertain conveyance, so as to hazard the loss or inspection of it. With the most sincere and perfect friendship, etc.[6]

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manner of conducting business, than is generally imagined. For take two Managers and give to each the same number of labourers, and let these labourers be equal in all respects. Let both these Managers rise equally early, go equally late to rest, be equally active, sober and industrious, and yet, in the course of the year, one of them, without pushing the hands that are under him more than the other, shall have performed infinitely more work. To what is this owing? Why, simply to contrivance resulting from that forethought and arrangement which will guard against the misapplication of labour, and doing it unseasonably: For in the affairs of farming or Planting, more perhaps than in any other, it may justly be said there is a time for all things. Because if a man will do that kind of work in clear and mild weather which can as well be done in frost, Snow and rain, when these come, he has nothing to do; consequently, during that period there is a total loss of labour. In plowing too, though the field first intended for it, or in which the plows may actually have been at work, should, from its situation, be rendered unfit (by rain or other causes) to be worked; and other spots even though the call for them may not be so urgent can be plowed, this business ought to go on; because the general operation is promoted by it. So with respect to other things, and particularly Carting; where nothing is more common than, when loads are to go to a place, and others to be brought from it, though not equally necessary at the same moment, to make two trips when one would serve. These things are only enumerated to shew that the Manager who takes a comprehensive view of his business, will throw no labour away.

"For this reason it is, I have here endeavoured to give a general view of my plans, with the business of the year, that the concerns of the several plantations may go on without application daily, for orders unless it be in particular cases, or where these directions are not clearly understood."

[5]Madison has starred the work "private" and entered a footnote at the bottom of the letter: "The letter being peculiarly confidential was returned or rather left with its enclosure at Mt. Vernon on my way to N. York. The return tho not asked nor probably expected, was suggested by a motive of delicacy, nor was any copy of my answer to the communication retained." Neither the private letter nor Madison's answer are now found in the *Washington Papers*.

[6]From a photostat of the original in the British Museum, Add. Ms. 39908. (See Washington's letter to James Madison, Feb. 16, 1789, *post*.)

To CLEMENT BIDDLE

Mount Vernon, January 4, 1789.

Dear Sir: I shall want to procure about 250 Bushels of Buck Wheat, in addition to what I now have, to sow the ensuing spring and summer, and will thank you to inform me (as soon as may be after receiving this) upon what terms I could obtain the above quantity in Philadelphia, and what would be the freight of it round here, that I may know precisely the cost of it; and determine, upon the receipt of your answer, whether it will be best for me to procure it there or in this neighbourhood. I found I could obtain Clover-seed in New York upon much better terms than it could be had in Philadelphia and have therefor written for a supply from that place, you will, however, accept my thanks for the trouble you have been at in making inquiries about it. With great esteem etc.

P. S. By a letter that I lately recd. from Mr. Smith I expect he will shortly deposit some money in your hands on my acct.[7]

[H.S.P.]

To SAMUEL HANSON

Mount Vernon, January 10,[8] 1789.

Sir: The letter with which you favored me on Wednesday was handed [to me] whilst I was at Dinner at Page's when it was not in my power to give it an acknowledgment. and this is the first day since, that I have had an occasion to send to Town.

It is painful to me to be called upon to give an opinion upon a matter, to which I feel myself incompetent. The first wish of my Soul is to spend the evening of my days in the lot of a private citizen on my farm but if circumstances which are not yet sufficiently unfolded to form the judgment or the opinion of

[7] In the writing of Tobias Lear.

[8] Sparks prints this letter as January 18. Washington was at Alexandria, Wednesday, January 7, at the election of the presidential elector for that district. According to his "Diary" he dined with "a large Company on Venisen at Page's Tavn. and came home in the evening."

my friends, will not allow me this last boon of temporal happiness and I should once more be led into the walks of public life, it is my fixed determination to enter there, not only unfettered by promises, but even unchargeable with exacting or feeding the expectation of *any man living* for my assistance to Office. And sure I am, a Gentleman of your candour and judgment will approve the resolution; first because all Offices are to be created by Law, and consequently are, as yet uncertain. 2dly. because the appointment of Officers may, possibly be left to the heads of departments, or in many instances referred to the Executives of the respective States. And 3dly. because the ear of the nominator ought to be open to the Comments on the merits of each candidate and to be governed primarily by the abilities which are most peculiarly adapted to the Nature and duties of the Office which is to be filled. If unhappily for me it should be my lot to have any share in the execution of the government it will be under the influence of these sentiments, and the best knowledge I can obtain of characters, that I shall invariably act with respect to appointments. And with respect to my conduct as a private man I do *verily* believe I never shall interfere in the appointment to any Office whatsoever, beyond a general certificate of facts.

The candid and cautious line of conduct which has been the rule of my past life, and which I mean shall be my government to the end of it, must apologize for the frankness of this declaration; not Sir, that I wish it to be considered as any dereliction on my part to promote your interest in any matter wherein I can do it with perfect consistency and propriety but rather because I will never put it in the power of any [man] to say that I have deceived or misled him by assurances or hopes which on the completion I *might* find myself embarrassed. With very great esteem etc.[9]

[9] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

To ROBERT MORRIS

Mount Vernon, January 15, 1789.

Dear Sir: I pray you to receive my thanks for your favor of the 5th. and for the obliging attention which you have given to the Floor matting from China. The latter is not yet arrived at the Port of Alexandria nor is the navigation of the River at this time open for the Passage of any Vessel; while, the frost has much the appearance of encreasing and continuing.

In every wish that can contribute to the happiness of Mrs. Morris yourself and family I am most cordially joined by Mrs. Washington and all under this Roof, and with Sentiments of sincere regard etc.[10]

To GARRETT COTTRINGER

Mount Vernon, January 15, 1789.

Sir: Your letter of the 22d. of October, having with some others been mislaid, is the best, indeed the only apology I can make for this long delay in acknowledging the receipt of it.

Let me request the favor of you now to transmit me the cost of the sattin, and of the Floor matting which Mr. Morris advices me has been sent by the Sloop Polly Captn. Harrison, and the amount shall be remitted immediately by Sir Your etc.[10]

To SAMUEL HANSON

Mount Vernon, January 16, 1789.

Sir: Your letters of the 10th. and 12th.[11] came duly to hand. In answer to the latter, I have only to observe that, it would give me pleasure to endulge my Nephew George Washington[12]

[10] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers.*
[11] Not now found in the *Washington Papers.*
[12] George Steptoe Washington.

in any attainment which would contribute to his improvement or innocent gratification were *his* funds, or *my* convenience adequate thereto. But as his Estate is either unproductive or the Produce incompetent to the payment of his Fathers debts, and my money and credit has been his and brothers principal support for some time past, the object of his present wish (communicated by you) must be suspended till I can (having set on foot an enquiry) be made acquainted with the cause.

With esteem and regard I am, etc.[13]

To BATTAILE MUSE

Mount Vernon, January 18, 1789.

Sir: I have received your letter of the 19 Ulto. and in compliance with your request have taken from Colo. Fairfaxes ledger a copy of Colo. Warner Washington Acct. which is here enclosed. There is no Acct. in his Book with Mr. Lee (neither father nor Son). I am very sorry that indisposition, or any other cause should have prevented you from coming down at the time you proposed for it is my earnest wish and desire to have the account of my Lands &c. which are under your care brought into a degree of regularity that will enable me to see upon what footing they stand and what my expectations from that quarter may be. It is so long since this request was first made to you, it has been so often repeated, and the time which would be required to do it is so trifling that it would even justify a suspicion that this delay arose from some cause which ought not to exist; however I trust that a speedy compliance with my repeated requests in this particular will place the matter in such a situation as to make it perfectly satisfactory to us both. The immediate payment of such rents as are due to me would be

[13]From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

essentially serviceable at this time and I doubt not therefore that you will use your best endeavours to collect them as soon as possible. I am, etc.[14]

To HENRY LEE

Mount Vernon, January 20, 1789.

Dear Sir: Your favor of the 17th. enclosing two Patents for 5000 Acres of Land on Rough Creek in Jefferson County (and rough indeed they appear principally to be) came duly to hand, but I am sorry to say that the *specialty* of the conveyance proposed by you neither meets my inclination nor expectation. I neither buy nor sell and I have done both) without a *general* Warrantee. If there is no dispute with respect to the title, no possible injury can result from giving a general Warrantee. If contrary to your knowledge and belief there should appear another and better claimants of these Lands of what avail, to me, is a special Warrantee? Will that afford compensation when it is against the claim of yourself and heirs only that I am indemnified? In that case shall I get anything for the horse, the original cost of which was five hundred pounds and with the hire of the groom, their keeping and other incidental charges cannot I should suppose stand me in much if any less than Seven hundred pounds? There would be no equallity in such a Bargain; you say if I have any doubt of your Title to these Lands you will give others in place of them. I have nothing but report of the general confusion of Landed property in that Country to form any opinion on, and this with me operates equally with respect to all, having made no enquiry into the rights of any; never having speculated in an Acre there. I thank you for the information respecting Elections. A little time now will bring the whole to a close. It gives us much pleasure to hear that Mrs.

[14] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers.*

Lee is better, and will always do so to see you at Mount Vernon. Being with sincere friendship etc.[15]

To CLEMENT BIDDLE

Mount Vernon, January 20, 1789.

Dear Sir: I have received your letters of the 27th Ulto. and 4th Inst. the former enclosing an Acct. of the Herrings, which I am sorry did not turn out better, however I am certain there was nothing wanting on your part to dispose of them to the best advantage.

Neither of the Vessels on board of which you shipped articles for me have arrived. If they got out of the Deleware they could not have reached Alexandria, for the River has been impassable for several weeks; but there is now a prospect of its being soon open.

Enclosed is a Memorandum from Mrs. Washington respecting some shoes which she wishes Mr. Palmer to make for her, and I have sent you a slipper herewith as a pattern which she will thank you to send to Mr. Palmer.

If there are any homespun Cloths in Philadelphia which are tolerably fine, that you can come readily at, I would be obliged to you to send me patterns of some of the best kinds; I should prefer that which is mixed in the grain, because it will not so easily discover its quality as a plain Cloth. With great esteem etc.

The Memo. mentd. above is in the Slipper, for Mr. Palmer.[16]

[H.S.P.]

To ROBERT CHAMBERS

Mount Vernon, January 28, 1789.

Sir: I have received your letter of the 14th. Instt. enclosing your account against Mr. Ferdinand Washington[17] which is

[15] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.
[16] In the writing of Tobias Lear. The added note is in the writing of Washington.
[17] Son of Samuel Washington.

herewith returned, and must inform you that I have repeatedly refused, and am determined not to have anything to do in the settlement of his affairs; for his conduct, while living, was such as I totally disapproved of, and left no means or advice unessayed to counteract. His extravagance could not be unknown to those who had dealings with him, and particularly for any length of time; they therefore who gave credit, and especially for such Articles as were not necessary for his support, must have been sensible, at the time, of the risque which they took upon themselves, and consequently can have no person to reproach with having drawn them into it. The Administrators must settle his affairs in the manner which appears most proper to them without my interference in any respect. I am, etc.[18]

*To THE SECRETARY AT WAR

Mount Vernon, January 29, 1789.

My dear Sir: Having learnt from an Advertisement in the New York Daily Advertiser, that there were superfine American Broad Cloths to be sold at No. 44 in Water Street; I have ventured to trouble you with the Commission of purchasing enough to make me a Suit of cloaths. As to the colour, I shall leave it altogether to your taste; only observing, that, if the dye should not appear to be well fixed, and clear, or if the cloth should not really be very fine, then (in my judgment) some colour mixed in grain might be preferable to an indifferent (stained) dye. I shall have occasion to trouble you for nothing but the cloth and twist to make the button holes. If these articles can be procured and forwarded, in a package by the Stage, in any short time your attention will be gratefully acknowledged. Mrs. Washington would be equally thankfull to you for

[18] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers.*

purchasing for her use as much of what is called (in the Advertisement) London Smoke as will make her a riding habit. If the *choice* of these cloths should have been disposed off in New York, quere could they be had from Hartford in Connecticut where I perceive the manufactury of them is established. With every sentiment of sincere friendship etc.[19]

To MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE

Mount Vernon, January 29, 1789.

My dear Marquis: By the last post I was favored with the receipt of your letter, dated the 5th of September last. Notwithstanding the distance of its date, it was peculiarly welcome to me: for I had not in the mean time received any satisfactory advices respecting yourself or your country. By that letter, my mind was placed much more at its ease, on both those subjects, than it had been for many months.

The last letter, which I had the pleasure of writing to you, was forwarded by Mr. Gouverneur Morris. Since his departure from America, nothing very material has occurred. The minds of men, however, have not been in a stagnant State. But patriotism, instead of faction, has generally agitated them. It is not a matter of wonder, that, in proportion as we approach to the time fixed for the organization and operation of the new government, their anxiety should have been encreased, rather than diminished.

The choice of Senators, Representatives, and Electors, which (excepting in that of the last description) took place at different times, in the different States, has afforded abundant topics for domestic News, since the beginning of Autumn. I need not enumerate the several particulars, as I imagine you see most of

[19] From a facsimile in the *Washington Papers.*

them detailed, in the American Gazettes. I will content myself with only saying, that the elections have been hitherto vastly more favorable than we could have expected, that federal sentiments seem to be growing with uncommon rapidity, and that this encreasing unanimity is not less indicative of the good disposition than the good sense of the Americans. Did it not savour so much of partiality for my Countrymen I might add, that I cannot help flattering myself the new Congress on account of the self-created respectability and various talents of its Members, will not be inferior to any Assembly in the world. From these and some other circumstances, I really entertain greater hopes, that America will not finally disappoint the expectations of her Friends, than I have at almost any former period. Still however, in such a fickle state of existence I would not be too sanguine in indulging myself with the contemplation of scenes of uninterrupted prosperity; lest some unforeseen mischance or perverseness should occasion the greater mortification, by blasting the enjoyment in the very bud.

I can say little or nothing new, in consequence of the repetition of your opinion, on the expediency there will be, for my accepting the office to which you refer. Your sentiments, indeed, coincide much more nearly with those of my other friends, than with my own feelings. In truth my difficulties encrease and magnify as I draw towards the period, when, according to the common belief, it will be necessary for me to give a definitive answer, in one way or another. Should the circumstances render it, in a manner inevitably necessary, to be in the affirmative: be assured, my dear Sir, I shall assume the task with the most unfeigned reluctance, and with a real diffidence for which I shall probably receive no credit from the world. If I know my own heart, nothing short of a conviction of duty will induce me again to take an active part in

pubic affairs; and, in that case, if I can form a plan for my own conduct, my endeavours shall be unremittingly exerted (even at the hazard of former fame or present popularity) to extricate my country from the embarrassments in which it is entangled, through want of credit; and to establish a general system of policy, which if pursued will ensure permanent felicity to the Commonwealth. I think I see a *path,* as clear and as direct as a ray of light, which leads to the attainment of that object. Nothing but harmony, honesty, industry and frugality are necessary to make us a great and happy people. Happily the present posture of affairs and the prevailing disposition of my countrymen promise to co-operate in establishing those four great and essential pillars of public felicity.

What has been considered at the moment as a disadvantage, will probably turn out for our good. While our commerce has been considerably curtailed, for want of that extensive credit formerly given in Europe, and for default of remittance; the useful arts have been almost imperceptibly pushed to a considerable degree of perfection.

Though I would not force the introduction of manufactures, by extravagant encouragements, and to the prejudice of agriculture; yet, I conceive much might be done in that way by women, children and others; without taking one really necessary hand from tilling the earth. Certain it is, great savings are already made in many articles of apparel, furniture and consumption. Equally certain it is, that no diminution in agriculture has taken place, at the time when greater and more substantial improvements in manufactures were making, than were ever before known in America. In Pennsylvania they have attended particularly to the fabrication of cotton cloths, hats, and all articles in leather. In Massachusetts they are establishing factories of Duck, Cordage, Glass, and several other

extensive and useful branches. The number of shoes made in one town and nails in another is incredible. In that State and Connecticut are also factories of superfine and other broad cloths. I have been writing to our friend Genl. Knox this day, to procure me homespun broad cloth, of the Hartford fabric, to make a suit of cloaths for myself. I hope it will not be a great while, before it will be unfashionable for a gentleman to appear in any other dress. Indeed we have already been too long subject to British prejudices. I use no porter or cheese in my family, but such as is made in America: both those articles may now be purchased of an excellent quality.

While you are quarrelling among yourselves in Europe; while one King is running mad, and others acting as if they were already so, by cutting the throats of the subjects of their neighbours, I think you need not doubt, my dear Marquis, we shall continue in tranquility here. And that population will be progressive so long as there shall continue to be so many easy means for obtaining a subsistence, and so ample a field for the exertion of talents and industry. All my family join in Compliments to Madame la Fayette and yours. Adieu.[20]

To COMTE DE ROCHAMBEAU

Mount Vernon, January 29, 1789.

My dear Count: By some unusual delay in the conveyance of your kind letter dated the 15th. of June last, I had not the satisfaction of receiving it before this time. As I am always happy in hearing of your prosperity, I would not defer expressing my obligations, by the first occasion.

I had long judged from the different public accounts I had seen, relative to the affairs of France, that you were nearly in

[20] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

the moment of a Crisis; when your Constitution would assume, in some respects, a new form. By intelligence of a more recent date than your letter, I learn there has been a change in the administration, and that an Assembly of the States was to be convoked on the first of January. The upright intentions, which I have always been taught to believe were possessed by the present King of France, and the unbounded affection, which the Inhabitants of that country are accustomed to entertain for their monarch, persuade me that affairs will all go right, and that the temporary derangement will ultimately terminate in the permanent welfare of the Kingdom. For if the interests and resources of that Kingdom should be judiciously managed, you can hardly fail of being the happiest and most powerful people in the world.

In the strange situation of political affairs in the North of Europe, and in the midst of the various changes of alliances which have taken place, among the most considerable nations in your quarter of the globe, one is left to wander in a labyrinth of uncertainties in regard to the result. The Nations seem to be so entangled by different ties, that it will require all the skill of their Statesmen to *dissolve* or all the force of their Warriors to cut the *Gordian knots*. Calculating upon the known superiority of civil institutions and discipline over ignorance and brutal force; I am astonished to find, that the two Imperial Powers have made so little progress against the Turks in their first Campaign. As to the general issue, though we should use all the fixed principles for making the calculation, much will doubtless depend upon contingency. For example, the fate of the King of England may make some important alterations in the European system. Notwithstanding it might probably, in a commercial view, be greatly for the advantage of America that a war should rage on the other side of the Atlantic; yet I shall never so far divest myself of the feelings of a man, interested in

the happiness of his fellow-men, as to wish my country's prosperity might be built on the ruins of that of other nations. On the contrary, I cannot but hope, that the Independence of America, to which you have so gloriously contributed, will prove a blessing to mankind. It is thus you see, My dear Count, in retirement, upon my farm, I speculate upon the fate of nations; amusing myself with innocent Reveries, that mankind will, one day, grow happier and better.

I had the honor of writing to you some time ago, by Mr. Gouverneur Morris. He will have told you every thing important concerning the affairs of this Country untill his departure. Since which, little worthy of notice has happened. Our prospects have been gradually meliorating. Unanimity encreases. Economy has succeeded to profusion. Industry prevails. Such is the general picture of the United States. We are on the point of seeing the completion of the new Government, which, by giving motives to labour and security to property, cannot fail to augment beyond all former example the *capital Stock:* that is to say, the *aggregrate amount of property* in the Country. I speak with the more confidence, because so many of the elections of Senators and Representatives to Congress are already made, that there is the best reason to believe, the wisdom, the patriotism, and the virtue of America will be conspicuously concentred in that Body. I am &c.[21]

To BENJAMIN LINCOLN

Mount Vernon, January 31, 1789.

My dear Sir: Your two letters of December 20th and January 4th are before me. I am much obliged to you for the intelligence contained in them: because it enabled me to contradict a report

[21] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers.*

in circulation among the Antifederalists, that your State had made choice of only one Representative to Congress, that no more would probably be appointed and that every thing was in very great confusion. Though facts will ultimately become known; yet much mischief to the federal cause may be done, by suffering misrepresentation to pass unnoticed or unrefuted. Last winter the Antifederalists in Philadelphia published, that Connecticut had been surprised into an adoption of the Constitution, while a great majority of the freemen were opposed to it. Now it is certain, nothing can fix the stigma of falsehood upon that assertion better than the late respectable appointments in that State. Much the same thing has happened in Maryland. The Federal Ticket has been carried by a Majority of thousands. In the County which bears my name, there was not a dissenting vote.

By the best information I can obtain, federal sentiments are spreading perhaps, faster than ever in this Commonwealth. It is generally supposed that six, if not seven, of the Representatives from it to Congress, will be decided friends to the Constitution. I will only add, that, in Maryland and this State, it is probable Mr. John Adams will have a considerable number of the votes of the Electors. Some of those gentlemen will have been advised that this measure would be entirely agreeable to me, and that I considered it to be the only certain way to prevent the election of an Antifederalist. With sentiments of the greatest esteem &c.[22]

*STATEMENT OF FACTS

Mount Vernon, February 1, 1789.

From such parts of the following statement of facts (as are applicable to the case) the answer of George Washington must

[22] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

be drawn, to the Bills of complaint exhibited by both Brown and Owens.[23]

Colo. George Mercer when he left this Country for England vested (as I have been informed, and as the proceedings of the General Court I believe will prove) his brother, James Mercer Esqr., with a power of Attorney to manage and dispose of his property according to circumstances and his best discretion.

In consequence, and to satisfy some heavy claims on the Estate of the said George Mercer, or securities which were some how or another involved therewith; the said James Mercer by virtue of the Power under which he acted, Mortgaged part of the said George's estate to Messrs. Dick and Hunter of Fredericksburgh.

Nearly about the sametime (to the best of my remembrance) Colo. George Mercer, in order to secure the payment of large Sums which he had borrowed in England, also mortgaged the said premises, with other parts of his estate to a certain Richard Gravatt Banker, of London and Mary Wroughton of Bath, Spinster. And, in conjunction with these, sent a Power of Attorney to the Honble. John Tayloe, Colo. George Mason and myself, to sell and dispose of the whole Mortgaged effects for *their* use, and to apply the monies arising from such Sales agreeably to the directions contained in the said Power.

A doubt arising, whether the whole Estate of the said George Mercer would be adequate to the payment of his English and Virginia debts, and the priority, or validity of *one* of the Mortgages (given in England) being questioned, it became a matter interesting (in case of dificiency) for the said James to establish the one which he had given to Messrs. Dick and Hunter. Accordingly, an amicable suit in chancery was instituted by him, for this purpose: Not to stay the Sale, but to

[23] William Owens.

subject the money arising therefrom to the further Order of the Court, as will appear by the Interlocutory Decree of the 5th. of November 1773.

Under these circumstances Colonel Tayloe and myself (Colo. Mason having refused to act) Advertised the Estate of the said George Mercer to be sold agreeably to the Decree of the Court, which sale was accordingly made in Novr. 1774 by me, Colo. Tayloe not attending; and Bonds for the amount were taken, payable in Novr. 1775 to Tayloe and Washington.

In the interim, between the Sales which were made in Novr. 1774 and the time at which the Bonds were to become due in Novr. 1775. I obeyed a call of my Country in attending the Congress which met at Philadelphia in the Month of May in the latter year. From whence (being appointed thereto) I proceeded in the latter part of June following, to take upon myself the Command of the American Army at that time Assembled in Cambridge in the State of Massachusetts.

Seeing no prospect from the then situation of our Affairs of being any longer useful to Colo. Mercer or any of the Parties concerned; about, or very soon after the expiration of the period at which the Bonds became due, I wrote in very decided terms to Colo. Tayloe informing him that I should no longer consider myself as the Attorney of Colo. Mercer and his Mortgagees; or be responsible for any future transactions respecting that trust. So far then from having left, at the time of my departure from home, the Bonds in the hands of Mr. Lund Washington with authority to collect and give acquittals thereon, that, at or about the time I wrote to Colo. Tayloe to the purport above mentioned, I directed him the said Lund to deliver into the hands of that Gentleman, the whole of these Bonds; and take his receipt for the same, recommending it to the

latter (that is Colo. Tayloe) to put them into the hands of Colo. Francis Peyton (a person not only well qualified from his knowledge and attention to business for the purpose, but as one who was privy to all the proceedings at the Sale) to collect. This however was not done; and applications thereafter being made to Mr. Lund Washington (in whose hands the Bonds still remained), I informed Colo. Tayloe in a subsequent Letter, as he had it seems requested the said Lund to receive the money, that I should not, on acct. of its *interference* with *my business* oppose his doing it; as I was sure he would act with fidelity.

From the date of my first letter to Colo. Tayloe I constantly refused to have any further Agency in this business, until the death of that Gentleman, when I was informed (and upon taking the best advice was satisfied) of the indispensable necessity that existed, for my making a report of the proceedings with respect to the Sale, and such other matters as were *my own* immediate acts to the Court, in order to the final settlement; which report was accordingly made; but as it was known that I meant to proceed no farther, in the business, a second Interlocutary Decree bearing date the 9th day of Novr. 1782 took the Bonds out of my hands and placed them in those of John Francis Mercer Esquire, to collect; subject nevertheless, as in the former case, to the future Decree of the Court.

Under this authority it is, that Suits (though instituted in my name) have commenced, and though I am convinced that Mr. Lund Washington was authorized by Colo. Tayloe (notwithstanding my recommendation of Colo. Peyton for this business) to collect the money which was due by Bonds, yet, as this authority did not proceed from me, the Interrogatories which are founded thereon must fall. And those others which

depend upon the appropriation of the monies arising from the Sales, are with the Court to decide. To sell the Estate, and to submit the proceeds thereof to its future Decree, was what was required of the Attornies.[24]

To GOVERNOR JOHN EAGER HOWARD

Mount Vernon, February 2, 1789.

Sir: I have been duly honored with your polite favor of the 23d. Ulto. enclosing your Excellency's proclamation of the Representatives and Electors returning by the State of Maryland.[25]

The whole number of Representatives being federal and the large majority by which they were chosen, is the most decisive proof that could be given of the attachment of the people of your State to the general Government, and must effectually silence any assertions that may be made in future declaring that the sentiment of the People was not in unison with that of the Convention which adopted the Constitution by so large a majority. It is somewhat singular that among so large a number of votes as you mention to have been found opposed to the federal ticket, it was a circumstance not to be expected in any County.

The Election of Representatives to Congress takes place in this State today, upon the most moderate calculation it is thought at least one half of the number will be friends to the Constitution, the more sanguine speak with confidence of 6 or 7 out of the ten. I have the honor etc.[26]

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[24] From a photostat of the original kindly furnished by Warren H. Colson, of Boston, Mass.

On February 15 the Statement of Facts having been drawn up in legal form, was sworn to before Charles Alexander in Fairfax County. The original, which is entitled "The Answer of George Washington to the Bill of Complaint exhibited agst. him by William Owens," is in the possession of Edward L. Stone, of Roanoke, Va.

[25] A broadside of this proclamation is in the *Washington Papers* under date of Jan. 21, 1789.

[26] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

To SAMUEL POWEL

Mount Vernon, February 5, 1789.

Dear Sir: The letters which you did me the honor of writing to me on the 6th. and 26th. last Month came duly to hand; and their enclosures were safely delivered to my Nephew Bushrod Washington, who has lately become a Resident of Alexandria; where, and at the Courts in its vicinity he means to establish himself in the practise of the Law. No apology, my dear Sir, on this or any other occasion was, or will be necessary for putting any letter you may wish to have safely conveyed to a Friend in these parts under Cover to me.

All the Political Manœvres which were calculated to prevent or to impede the execution of the new Government are now brought to a close until the meeting of the new Congress; and although the issue of *all* the Elections are not yet known, they are sufficiently *Displayed* to authorize a belief that the opposers of the government have been defeated in almost every instance. Although the Elections in this State are over it will be some time from the extent of it before the Representatives to Congress can be finally announced. From Conjecture however, it is supposed the majority will be federalists; some are so sanquine as to suppose that Seven out of the ten will be so; but this, as I have already said is altogether conjecture, and vague conjecture; for much pains has been taken, and no art left unessayed, to poison the mind and alarm the fears of the people into opposition. In the list of the Electors which has been published by the Executive authority of the State I think there is to be found the names of 8 Gentlemen who are decided friends to the New Government. Be the cause of the British Kings insanity what it may, his situation, if alive, deserves Commiseration. Better perhaps would it have been for this Nation though not

for ours (under present prospects) if these events had happened at the time, Doctr. Franklin you say supposes his Majesty's Constitution was tinged with that Malady.

Mrs. Washington, the Major and Fanny, and all others under this roof, unite in best wishes and affectionate regard for Mrs. Powel and yourself and I am etc.[27]

To FRANCIS HOPKINSON

Mount Vernon, February 5, 1789.

Dear Sir: We are told of the amazing powers of musick in ancient times; but the stories of its effects are so surprizing that we are not obliged to believe them unless they had been founded upon better authority than Poetic assertion; for the Poets of old (whatever they may do in these days) were strangely addicted to the Marvellous; and If I before *doubted* the truth of their relations with respect to the power of musick, I am now fully convinced of their falsity, because I would not, for the honor of my Country, allow that we are left by Ancients at an immeasurable distance in everything; and if they could sooth the ferocity of wild beasts, could draw the trees and the Stones after them, and could even charm the powers of Hell by their musick, I am sure that your productions would have had at least virtue enough in them (without the aid of voice or instrument) to melt the Ice of the Delaware and Potomack, and in that case you should have had an earlier acknowledgment of your favor of the 1st. of December which came to hand but last Saturday.

I readily admit the force of your distinction between "a thing *done* and a thing *to be done*", and as I do not believe that you would do "a very bad thing indeed" I must even make a virtue of necessity, and defend your performance, if necessary, to the last effort of my musical Abilities.

[27] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers.*

But, my dear Sir, if you had any doubts about the reception which your work would meet with, or had the smallest reason to think that you should need any assistance to defend it, you have not acted with your usual good Judgement in the choice which you have made of a Coadjutor; for should the tide of prejudice not flow in favor of it (and so various are the tastes, opinions and whims of men that even the sanction of divinity does not ensure universal concurrence) what, alas! can I do to support it? I can neither sing one of the songs, nor raise a single note on any instrument to convince the unbelieving, but I have, however one argument which will prevail with persons of true taste (at least in America), I can tell them that it is the production of Mr. Hopkinson.[28]

With the compliments of Mrs. Washington added to mine for you and yours, I am, etc.[29]

To CLEMENT BIDDLE

Mount Vernon, February 11, 1789.

Dear Sir: I have now before me your letters of the 19th Ultimo and 1st. Inst. The Vessels from Philadelphia have arrived, and the articles shipped on my Acct. come safe to hand.

You inform me in your's of the 19th of January that the freight of Buckwheat will be 3/ per barrel; but I do not know whether you mean that a barrel is to contain 5 bushels, as we measure Corn here, or only the quantity of a common flour barrel; if the latter, the freight will be very high. I will thank you to inform me, as soon after you receive this as possible, what will be the exact price of it per bushel deld. *here,* that I may be able to determine whether it will be cheaper for me to

[28] This was the publication "Seven Songs" (November, 1788) which Hopkinson dedicated to Washington. A photostat of his letter of Dec. 1, 1788, is in the Library of Congress.

[29] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers.*

get it from Berkley or Louden Counties in this State, or from Philadelphia; and if I should procure it at the latter place I think it would be better for me to have it sent in Sacks than barrels (provided it cannot be brot. round without either) as the former will be serviceable to me, and the latter almost a total loss. I should likewise imagine that the freight would be something less for Sacks than barrels as they can be stowed in a smaller space.

Mrs. Washington is much obliged to you for your agency in obtaining her slippers, which arrived last evening, and will thank you to have two pair more, *of stuff,* made for her by Mr. Palmer, of the same size, and a pair of Clogs to fit them. She will likewise thank you to get 20 lb. of the shells of Cocoa nuts, if they can be had of the Chocolate makers.

You will please to accept my thanks for your attention to my letter sent to Mr. Smith, and for your inquiries respecting the Cloth and Barley. With great esteem I am etc.

P. S. If the Vessel, which you mention in your last was about to load for Alexandria, has not sailed, and the Buckwheat can be obtained and put on board her I should wish it to be done. If it cannot be brought in bulk I should prefer good sacks to barrels. Should the Vessel have sailed, or the Buckwheat not procured in time to put on board her, I will then thank you for the information respecting it which I before requested.[30]

[H.S.P.]

*To THOMAS JEFFERSON

Mount Vernon, February 13, 1789.

Dear Sir: Having found that there is a vessel on the point of sailing from Alexandria for Havre de Grace I would not forego so good an opportunity of addressing a letter to you, although

[30] In the writing of Tobias Lear.

nothing very material has occurred since the date of my last, which was transmitted by Mr. Gouverneur Morris. As you will doubtless have seen in the Gazettes the measures taken by the different States for carrying the new government into execution, I will not, therefore, enter upon any report of News or discussion of political topics.

Exclusive of these things, the greatest and most important objects of internal concern, which at present occupy the attention of the public mind, are manufactures and inland navigation. Many successful efforts in fabrics of different kinds are every day made. Those composed of Cotton, I think, will be of the most immediate and extensive utility. Mr. Milne, an English Gentleman, who has been many years introducing those manufactures into France, and whose father is now carrying them on (under the protection of government) at the Royal Château of Muette in Passy, was at my House this Week and is of opinion that they may be prosecuted in America to greater advantage than in France and England. He has been almost two years in Georgia stimulating and instructing the Planters to the production of Cotton. In that State, and So. Carolina, it is said, that Cotton may be made of a most excellent quality, and in such abundt. quantities as to prove a more profitable species of agriculture, than any other Crop. The encrease of that new material and the introduction of the late-improved Machines to abridge labour, must be of almost infinite consequence to America.

A desire of encouraging whatever is useful and œconomical seems now generally to prevail. Several capitol artists, in different branches, have lately arrived in this Country. A factory of Glass is established, upon a large scale on Monocasy, near Frederick-Town in Maryld. I am informed it will this year produce Glass of various kinds, nearly to the amount of ten

thousand pounds value. This factory will be essentially benefitted, by having the navigation of the Potomac completely opened. But the total benefits of that navigation will not be confined to narrower limits, than the extent of the western territory of the U: States.

You have been made acquainted, my dear Sir, with my ideas of the practicability, importance and extent of that navigation, as they have been occasionally, though fully expressed, in my several letters to you, dated the 29th. of March 1784, the 25th. of Febry. 1785, the 26th. of Septr. 1785, the 30th. of May 1787, the 1st. of Jany. 1788, and the 31st. of Augt. in the same year. Notwithstanding my constant and utmost endeavours to obtain precise information, respecting the nearest and best communication between the Ohio and Lake Erie, I am not yet able to add any thing more satisfactory to the observations, which I had the honor to make on the subject, in my letter of the 1st. of January 1788. But I have lately received a correct Draught executed principally from actual Surveys, of the Country between the sources of the Potomac and those navigable waters, that fall into the Ohio. The Roads; and Rivulets at the places where they are crossed by these roads; together with the mouths of the latter (but not the meanders) are laid down from actual surveys. Hence the approximation of the Eastern and western waters in those parts, is discovered with *certainty*. It is, however, supposed by some, not professional men I should add, that the navigation of Potowmac from the mouth of Savage to Stoney river, is impracticable; on account of the many falls, rapid water, and rugged banks which are to be found in its course: But as there is an abundance of water, I should conceive that with the aid of Canals and Locks, it might be accomplished. From hence thro' the Glades, to the principal stream of the Yohiogany River, the portage is not more than 8 or ten

miles: and this distance, if little Yough affords water sufficient, might be reduced to five miles. From the mouth of little Yough to Pittsburgh there is no want of water: but it is said there are falls, and many rapid places in the River (not insurmountable one would suppose). It is conjectured by many that Savage River and Green glade Creek, or the former and little Yough, are capable of being improved; if so, the course is more direct; but of this I can say nothing for want of better information, or a more accurate examination of these streams. Of the Draught wch. has been sent me, I enclose you such a rough sketch, as my avocations would permit me to make: my principal object therein being to shew, that the distance between the Eastern and Western Waters is shorter, and that the means of communication are easier, than I had hitherto represented or imagined. I need not describe what and how extensive the rivers are which will be thus in a wonderful manner connected, as soon as the Potomac shall be rendered entirely passable. The passage would have been opened from Fort Cumberland to the Great Falls (nine Miles from tide-water) before this time, as I mentioned in my letter of the 31st. of Augt. last, had it not been for the unfavourableness of the Season. In spite of that untoward circumstance, I have the pleasure to inform you, that two or three boats have actually arrived at the last mentioned place; one with 50, and another with near 100 Barrls. of flour.

I am going on Monday next to visit the works, as far as the Seneca Falls. Could I have delayed writing this letter until my return from thence and afterwards availed myself of the same conveyance, I might have been more particular in my account of the state of the several works, and especially of the situation of the Land adjoining to the Canal at the Great Falls. Whensoever the produce of those parts of the Country bordering on the sources of the Potomac and contiguous to the long

rivers that run into it (particularly the Shenandoah and South Branch) shall be water-borne down to Tide-water for exportation, I conceive this place must become very valuable. From the conveniency of the Bason a little above the Spot where the Locks are to be placed, and from the inducements which will be Superadded by several fine Mill-Seats, I cannot entertain a doubt of the establishment of a Town in that place. Indeed mercantile People are desirous that that event should take place as soon as possible. Manufactures of various commodities and in iron particularly will doubtless be carried on to advantage there. The Mill Seats, I well know, have long been considered as very valuable ones. How far buildings erected upon them may be exposed to injuries from freshes, or the breaking up of Ice, I am not competent to determine from my own knowledge: but the opinion of persons better acquainted with these matters than I am, is, that they may be rendered secure. On the commodiousness of Alexandria for carrying on the Fur trade throughout the whole western Country, I treated, in a very minute and I may say almost voluminous manner, in my communication to you on the 30th. of May 1787. Probably George-Town and the place which I have just mentioned, will participate largely and happily in the great emoluments to be derived from that and other valuable articles, through the inland navigation of the upper and Western Country. With sentiments of the highest esteem etc.[31]

To HENRY LEE

Mount Vernon, February 13, 1789.

My dear Sir: I send you the letter you requested for Mr. Jefferson under a flying seal, which, after perusal, you will be

[31] From the original in the *Jefferson Papers* in the Library of Congress.

pleased to have closed for transmission. After revolving the subject in many different points of view, I could find no expedient for communicating the information in question, in so unexceptionable a manner, as by making the latter a continuation of my correspondence on the inland Navigation of America. I hope that the sentiments contained in it, which are the result of some reflection, will not be the less useful to you, for being delivered in this Manner; and at the same time, in case of any undesirable event, that I shall avoid the imputation of having interfered in the business from selfish or improper motives. For I hold it necessary that one should not only be conscious of the purest *intentions;* but that one should also have it in his power to demonstrate the disenterestedness of his *words* and actions at all times, and upon all occasions. I am etc.[32]

To HENRY LEE

Mount Vernon, February 14, 1789.

Dear Sir: I shall pass through Alexandria Monday on my way to George-Town, and thence to the Great and Seneca Falls. And shall bring with me the Plats and Patents for the Land on Rough Creek in Kentucke; in order to receive a Conveyance in the usual and accustomed mode, or to return them to you. With my usual esteem etc.[32]

To JAMES MADISON

Mount Vernon, February 16, 1789.

My dear Sir: Having heard of your Election by a respectable majority of the suffrages of the District for which you stood; and conceiving it probable that you would soon be on your

[32] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers.*

journey to New York; possibly before my return from the Seneca Falls; for which place, by appointment, I am this moment setting off by the way of George Town; where I expect to meet Governors Johnson and Lee. I take the liberty of submitting the papers herewith enclosed, for your perusal, in case of that event.

You have a rough draught only of the letter I had in contemplation to write to you;[33] so soon as I should have received your answer to the one I had written to you, soon after you left this. But having heard nothing from you since, I concluded that the intercourse between this and Orange was not very regular although, ultimately, it might be safe. Therefore, and because I expected you would soon be on, I gave up the intention of forwarding the enclosures you will now receive.

I shall certainly be back on Friday; probably on Thursday; when if you should in the meantime have arrived, it would give me much pleasure to see you at this place; being always with the sincerest regard and friendship etc.

P. S. If it should be your *own* desire, I have not the smallest objection to your conversing freely with Colo. H——[34] on all matters respecting this business.[35]

To BATTAILE MUSE

Mount Vernon, February 19, 1789.

Sir: I have received your letter of the 7th. Inst. together with your account, a List of my Tenants,[36] and £8.19.4 in Cash.

[33] See Washington's letter to James Madison, Jan. 2, 1788, *ante*. The confidential rough draft is not now found in the *Washington Papers*.

[34] Benjamin Harrison(?).

[35] From the printed text in the sales catalogue of the *Washington-Madison Papers* (McGuire Collection, 1892).

[36] The list of tenants for the year 1788, drawn up, signed, and dated, Feb. 6, 1789, by Battaile Muse, is in the Morgan Library. A photostat is in the Library of Congress.

It was not my intention to have wounded your feelings by my last letter, as you say I did. I only meant to express my earnest desire to have a Rent Roll of my lands under your care, and not knowing the causes which prevented its being made out, I conceived that so long a delay of it was improper.

I have examined the statement of my tenants which you sent me, and will be applicable to every individual, as the tenor of the leases are the same, or nearly the same. In those cases where you have desired my particular direction I will give it now; but request that in future, the leases may govern your conduct, as I am determined to adhere strictly to the covenants of them and will not relinquish anything therein specified.

When I gave leases of those lands my great object was to have such improvements made on them as would encrease their Value and enable me to dispose of them to advantage hereafter, the Rents were consequently very low. Now, as the Rent of Land in that part of the Country has risen to 3 or 4 times the amount of the rent required by my leases, I shall not only be frustrated in my main design with respect to improvements, if the covenants of the leases are not complied with, but am likewise deprived of the benefit which I could draw from the land by leasing it at this time if it was unoccupied: and shall very probably suffer greatly by its being impovrished I am therefore determined to set aside every old Lease where the covenants, with respect to the Orchards and buildings, are not complied with; *if there is reason to believe that the Lotts will let for more than their present Rent;* and I desire that you will have this done: But previous to your attempting it. I would have you take the opinion of some eminent Lawyer upon the matter (not that of a young County Court Lawyer but that of some man who has been much conversant with business of this kind and whose Judgment can be depended

upon) and if you should be advised to put the leases to issue, the determination upon one will be a [rule] by which you can govern yourself with respect to the others. The sooner this matter is determined the better, and if these leases are set aside and new ones given I will not have them for lives, because it can never be determined (without disputes) when they end, neither would I give them for a longer term of years than will be sufficient to induce the tenant to make such improvements and cultivate the land in such a manner as may redound to the advantage of the Landlord as well as himself; for I think there can be no doubt but the Rent of land in that and every other part of the Country, will rise in a few years much above what it is at present.

If any of the tenants pretend that they have been released from any covenant in their leases by me, or any person acting for me, let them produce proof of it, and without that you must pay no regard to assertions. Certain I am I have never released any, and as certain that Lund Washington never did.

I observe (by you notes) that several tenants have agreed to pay the Land tax in consequence of their being released from complying with some covenant in their leases with respect to improvements, where this composition has been made it must, I suppose, be complyed with on my part; but I had rather that nothing of this kind had taken Place, for it is my wish and desire to comply with everything that is incumbent on me, and it is my intention to oblige them to do the like. When the matter is any ways disputable whether the Land tax is to be paid by the Landlord or Tenant, I had much rather pay it than relinquish any part of the lease, for they on the other, may suppose that the smallest concession is adequate to it.

I would, henceforward, have you give no indulgences in the Collection of the Rents; but destrain as soon as they become

due, unless the Tenant, by some act of Providence, Fire or unavoidable events is disabled; for I am convinced that a delay in the payment of the Rent from year to year is as prejudicial to the Tenant as the Landlord. To indulge a person whose inability to pay arises from laziness would only encourage him to continue in it, and the final distress for Rent After it has been accumulating 3 or 4 years may compleatly ruin the Tenant without satisfying the Landlord; whereas, when it is known that no favor will be granted (except under the circumstances above mentioned) every man will make an exertion to pay his rent when it becomes due, and the sum is so small that it will hardly be felt if paid annually.

I would wish you to settle the Arrears of Rent in the best manner you can where the persons owing cannot pay the whole take such a part as you can get and make a final settlement of them, and in future let there be no arrears; whenever a Tenant is disabled by some act of Providence, Fire, or unavoidable event from paying the whole of his Rent, you must settle with him upon the best terms that his situation will admit of, but those who delay payment from any other cause must expect no favor.

I will never take anything but the specific Rents. This will avoid disputes, and suspicion of allowing too little for the Commodity. The Tenant may as well dispose of this produce as for me to do it.

The foregoing is my General determination with respect to the lands under your care, and a referrence to the leases will always direct you what to do when any obstacle arises in the collection of the Rents or management of the business.

Thomas Freeman Greenfield's reserve must be laid off at my expence, but previously endeavour to annul his lease if he will not comply with the covenant for planting Orchards.

If John Dimmitt does not work more than the No. of hands allowed, and the lease does not restrain him from keeping subtenants nothing is to be done in the case.

If Joseph Winsor thinks he has not got his quantity of land, let him employ the County (sworn) Surveyor, at his own expence; and if the payment by the lease is according to the quantity of land he holds, it must govern.

Abner Grigs[37] quibble with respect to the error in filling up the blank is inadmissable, put the lease to issue.

Get what arrears you can from Lemart,[38] the whole, if he is able to pay it.

Furr[39] must be made to comply with the Covenant of the lease.

Robert McWherter[40] is not to have the place gratis to encourage laziness, if he is sickly it may be a reason for favouring him in the back rents, and in that case he should quit the place or I shall always be plagued with him.

It is of little avail what Hansbury says. Let him produce from under mine, or Lund Washington's hand what he asserts, and the matter will be then ascertained. Without proof pay no regard to his assertions.

Let Lott No. 9 in Fauquier upon the best terms you can.

No. 1 on Chattins Run may be divided and leased for a number of years as proposed.

I am willing to refer my dispute with Scott to the Gentleman mentioned in your letter viz Colo Francis Peyton, Colo Leven Powell and Mr. Muse D. C. S. of Fauquier.

Ten per Cent (Charges) is, in my opinion a very high commission to be given for the Collection of Rents, and such an

[37] Abner Grigg.

[38] Lewis Lemert's Sons. Muse's list states he was deceased and that his widow remarried and moved away.

[39] Enoch Furr.

[40] Robert McWhorter.

one as I never heard of before but if it is given by others I cannot expect to have my business done for less.[41]

There is another part of the business no less essential than the collection of the rent, and which, I trust, you pay a proper attention to viz, that of visiting each tenement once or twice a year to see that no waste is made by the Tenants or others, and that every thing is kept in due order agreeably to the tenor of the Leases. But for this I should have no occasion for a Collector for if the Rents were not punctually paid at a given time the Sheriff would answer the purpose.

As you have now furnished me with a statement of my lands I shall have them entered agreeably to their Numbers, and I expect that you will transmit me annually (in the month of March, for instance when I suppose all collections for the preceeding year will be settled) an account of the receipts for each tenement, the charges which may arise from destraining &c. (which must be paid by the Tenant), together with any changes that may take place in the Tenants; I shall then have them entered in their proper places, and shall always be able to see upon what footing they stand.

As you express yourself much hurt by the report of your having been concerned in locating some lands of Colo Fairfax's which were under your care, and have requested me to give you my opinion upon the mode which you propose to take for finding out the author of it, or to obviate any aspersions which might have been thrown upon your character in consequence of it, I have enclosed you the form of a publication[42] which I conceive will either bring forth the propagator or sufficiently clear you from the charge.

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[41] According to a copy in the Toner Transcripts, taken from a sales catalogue, at this point in the letter sent was added: "Quere: Are not some extra Services required for this 10 p Ct."

[42] The form follows immediately after this letter to Muse in the "Letter Book" in the *Washington Papers.*

It is my duty to deliver whatever papers are in my hands belonging to the Estate of the late Colo Fairfax whenever required by an order from the Exets. but as there are among them many papers of considerable consequence, which do not relate immediately to the Estate that is under your care, I should advise you to have the desk in which they are contained put into the hands of the Revd. Mr. Bryan Fairfax, Father to the young Gentleman who is heir to the Estate, and receive from time to time such papers only as you may have occasion for, at least till the above mentioned report is fully obviated, for although these persons for whom you act may have the highest confidence in you, yet if any papers of consequence should by any means be lost you must feel yourself very much hurt at not being able to account for it.[43] With due regard I am etc.[44]

To CHEVALIER D'ANNEMOURS[45]

Mount Vernon, February 20, 1789.

Sir: The letter which you did me the honor of writing to me on the 11th. came to my hands at George Town the 16th. at a time when it was not in my power to give it an answer: but my sentiments on the purport of it were fully delivered to Captn. Zollickoffer[46] to whom I beg leave to refer you. Briefly they were, that Major Cottineau de Kerloguin[47] was either a member, of right of the Society of the Cincinnati agreeably to the letter of the Institution, or his admission as an honorary one

[43] According to the copy in the Toner Transcripts in the Library of Congress a P. S. was added to the letter sent, as follows: "You have herewith the Leases which you requested might be sent. Whatever cash you have, or may collect for me, I should be glad to have on or before the 10th of March."

[44] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers.*

[45] Charles François Adrien Le Polinier, Chevalier d'Annemours, French Consul at Baltimore, Md.

[46] John Conrad Zollickoffer, of North Carolina.

[47] Denis Nicolas Cottineau de Kerloguin (or Kerloguen). He was a captain in the French Navy.

depended according to the Spirit of it, upon the merits of his particular case. If the first (for I have not the institution by me to refer to; and therefore have referred Captn. Zollickoffer to the Secretary General, Genl. Knox, or to the Assistant Secretary, Genl. Williams[48] for information) there remains nothing more for him to do than to comply with the Requisites and send his Diploma to me (first Countersigned by the Secretary Genl. Knox) for my signature. If the second, it rests not with me, but with the General Meeting of the Society to be holden in Philadelphia the first Monday of May 1790 to decide on his case, at which meeting it is not expected I shall attend because it was agreed at the last Genl. Meeting that I should be leased of the duty of the President which were to be executed by the Vice President now Governor Mifflin. To whom, [or] to the Secretary General, I will transmit your letter with that of Major Cottineau de Kerlogcion in order that the merits of his pretensions (if they do not give him a *legal* claim from the tenor of his Commission and length of Services) may be taken into consideration at the first General Meeting of the Society. I have the honor etc.[49]

To CAPTAIN DENIS NICOLAS COTTINEAU DE KERLOGUIN

Mount Vernon, February 21, 1789.

Sir: I have had the honor to receive your letter of the 4th. September 1788 which was handed to me by your friend Captn. Zellickoffer, to whom I fully delivered my sentiments upon the purport of your letter, and who will undoubtedly take every necessary step towards your *legal* or *honorary* admission into the Society of the Cincinnati.

[48] Otho Holland Williams.
[49] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

It is not in my power to say anything decidedly upon the propriety of your claim, as I was at the last General Meeting of the Society, exonerated from the duties of the Presidency, have not the Institution by me, and it will not be expected that I shall attend the next General Meeting, which will take place on the first Monday in May 1790 in the City of Philadelphia, nor perhaps any future meeting of the Society. I have therefore transmitted your letter to the Secretary General Genl. Knox to be laid before the next Genl. Meeting where the merits of your pretentions will claim that attention which they deserve. I have the honor etc.[50]

To REVEREND WILLIAM GORDON

Mount Vernon, February 23, 1789.

Dear Sir: In a letter which, I had the pleasure of addressing to you lately, I mentioned my private business and numerous avocations as an apology for the conciseness and irregularity that might be observable in my correspondence. I shall therefore be excused for only acknowledging the receipt of your favor dated the 28th. of Octr. last, and thanking you for the Maps enclosed in it. Not having been able to compare them minutely with other plans of the same places, or to bestow that attention upon them which would be requisite for forming a correct Judgment; I am not at liberty to give any opinion as to their accuracy. They appear to be engraved with sufficient neatness, and to augur well as to the execution of the mechanical part of your publication. I shall only add, that the present state of tranquility in this Country affords no topics of importance

[50] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

On February 21 Washington sent the letters of D'Annemours and Kerloguin to Knox with a brief note. All three of these letters are in the Papers of the Society of Cincinnati, in the Library of Congress.

for communication, and that I remain, With great respect and consideration Dr. Sir, etc.[51]

To JAMES MONROE

Mount Vernon, February 23, 1789.

Dear Sir: I received by the last Mail your letter dated the 15th. of this month, accompanied with your printed observations on the new Constitution,[52] and am much obliged by this token of your polite attention. However I may differ from you in sentiment on some of the points, which are advocated in your Treatise, I am pleased in discovering so much candour and liberality as seem to predominate in your style and manner of investigation. That a Spirit of unanimity, accommodation, and rectitude may prevail so extensively, as to facilitate the means for removing any well grounded apprehensions of the possible future ill consequences, which may result from the general government, is the sincere wish of, dear Sir &c.[51]

To REVEREND WILLIAM WEST

Mount Vernon, February 28, 1789.

Sir: The late Colo Thomas Colvill, in his will appointed his Widow, your Brother and myself his Executors. Some persons in Britain, who consider themselves, under, a Clause in the Will, as residuary Legatees, have been very importunate to have the residue of that Estate remitted them, and some of the applications have been made in a very rude manner; this together with the necessity of making a Close of such Transactions

[51] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers.*

[52] A copy of Monroe's *Observations Upon the Proposed Plan of the Federal Government* by a native of Virginia (Petersburg: 1788) is in the *Madison Papers* in the Library of Congress.

at some time, makes me very desirous of bringing to a Close every thing respecting that Estate. What the Residue will be, or whether any, cannot be ascertained but by a final Settlement with the Court. The Transactions of Mr. Colvill and your Brother were entirely distinct from and unconnected with my Accounts, this renders it necessary that there should be a seperate Account rendered by each Executor. As your Brother did not live to render an Account of his Acts, it becomes the duty of his Executors to do it from the papers left by him; those papers have been put into my hands by his Son, from them I have had an Account stated, and procured an order of Court appointing Commissioners to examine the several Accounts, so that little remains now to be done, only producing those papers by his Executors to the Commissioners for their Inspection. I must therefore request you as soon as the weather will permit, to come over, that I may see a finishing hand put to the business. It is not necessary that you should come at this time of a Court as the persons appointed can go upon the Business at any time. With very great esteem and regard I am etc.[53]

To HARRY INNES

Mount Vernon, March 2, 1789.

Sir: I have been favored by the receipt of your obliging letter, dated the 18th of December last,[54] just in time to send my acknowledgment by a person who is immediately returning to Kentuckey. This circumstance prevents me from expressing, so fully as I might otherwise have done, the sense I have of the

[53] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers.*

[54] In this letter Innes reported that Colonel Connolly was in Kentucky, endeavoring to stir up the inhabitants to seize New Orleans and secure the navigation of the Mississippi. He claimed to be able to furnish a British force to aid in taking New Orleans. Innes's letter is in the *Washington Papers.*

very patriotic sentiments you entertain respecting the important matter, which is the subject of your letter. As a friend to United America, I embrace, with extreme satisfaction the proposals you are pleased to offer of transmitting farther intelligence. For which purpose, I will endeavor to arrange and send you a Cypher by the earliest safe conveyance. In the mean time, I rely implicitly upon that honor which you have pledged, and those professions which you have made; and sincerely hope, that your activity and discretion will be successful in developing the machinations of all those, who, by sowing the seeds of disaffection, may attempt to seperate any portion of the United States from the Union. I will only add; for myself, I have little doubt but that a perseverance in temperate measures and good dispositions will produce such a system of national policy, as shall be mutually advantageous to all parts of the American Republic. I am etc.[55]

To THOMAS BARCLAY

Mount Vernon, March 2, 1789.

Sir: The letter which you addressed to me, on the 18th. of last month, has come to hand; and requires that I should write to you a few words on the subject of it.

Previous to the receipt of your letter I had been apprised of your desires by Colo. Humphreys, and made acquainted with the favorable opinion of your services, entertained by the several public characters from America in Europe. You will permit me to say; that, although I have reason to coincide with them in sentiment, yet it would be a departure from a rule, which I had laid down for myself, to go beyond the acknowledgment of having received applications of a similar nature.

[55] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

For [should it become indispensable for me to occupy the Office, in which your letter pre-supposes me, I shall endeavor to enter upon it as free from all kinds of prejudices, as I shall certainly be from all pre-engagements of every possible discription. As my sole object would be to adhere strictly to justice and my country's good, I should wish to be in a predicament, which would allow me to weigh with the utmost impartiality the pretentions of the different Candidates for appointments.

This being my general manner of thinking, you will be pleased to consider this answer as in no respect intended to affect your particular claims to the public attention.

I request in all personal considerations, you will be persuaded that, I remain, etc.][56]

To WILLIAM PERSSE[57]

Mount Vernon, March 2, 1789.

Dear Sir: Your polite letter, dated the 11th. of October last, has been duly received; and merits my particular acknowledgment. I have also to thank you very sincerely for the Gooseberry plants, which have arrived at Baltimore, from whence I have not yet been able to obtain them on account of the ice in our river. I shall have your directions as to the mode of culture particularly, observed, and hope the plants may succeed as happily as in your climate. For you may be assured the greater care of them will be taken, because it is a natural circumstance for us, to feel a predilection for whatever comes from one, whose ordinary pursuits and political principles are consonant to our own.

[56] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers.*

On March 2 Washington wrote to Robert Ballard, in answer to his application, practically the same answer as that portion of this letter which is inclosed in brackets. A copy of this letter is in the "Letter Book" in the *Washington Papers.*

[57] Of Ireland.

I am not without hopes that Sir Edward Newenham and yourself will find time, at some period in your lives, to make a visit to America, for which you have both witnessed so ardent an attachment.

I cannot conclude this letter without expressing my great obligations for your kind offers of contributing, by the transmission of other natural Productions of your Country, to my rural amusement; and assuring you that I have the honor, etc.[58]

To SIR EDWARD NEWENHAM

Mount Vernon, March 2, 1789.

Dear Sir: I am taking up my pen to present my acknowledgment for your letter of the 10th. of October last; and wish I had any thing to communicate in return, which might make mine equally acceptable to you. Notwithstanding my various endeavours to procure the articles I was desirous of transmitting to you, I have only been able to succeed in obtaining a couple of opossums, of the different sexes. I have been prevented from sending them, for some time, for want of a direct opportunity. They will be forwarded by the first conveyance.

We had last summer, in some parts of this country, as rainy a season, I believe as you had in Ireland; though it was not perhaps attended with such destructive consequences here, as it was with you. Indeed the seasons with us have been uncommonly in opposite extremes for two years past. The summer before the last was so dry, and last summer so wet, as to prevent me from acquiring any accurate result from many of my agricultural experiments. I have only been made more sensible, upon every new tryal, that this *country* is susceptible of various and great improvements in its agriculture. It is on *that resource* it must depend essentially for its prosperity. The useful arts

[58] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

and commerce ought not, however, to be altogether neglected. Nor are they, though they have been hitherto a subordinate concern, in comparison with the tillage of the earth. Much good to the community is predicted from the spirit of industry and economy, which begins to prevail (by the best information I can obtain) more extensively, than it has ever before done. Our direct trade to the East Indies, which has encreased very considerably, I am led to believe has been successful in every instance. More Manufactures of cotton, wool, and iron have been introduced within eighteen months past, than perhaps, ever before existed in America. Our settlements on the Western waters are progressing with unexpected rapidity. We are surrounded by the blessings of nature: and, in short, it seems as if we should want little, besides common sense and common honesty, to make us a great and a happy People.

I have just been returning my thanks for his Gooseberry plants to your friend Colonel Persse, who I perceive is a fond admirer of a Country life, as well as myself.

The request that you will have the goodness to offer the joint respects of Mrs. Washington and myself to Lady Newenham concludes me. With sentiments of the highest regard etc.[59]

To THE SECRETARY AT WAR

Mount Vernon, March 2, 1789.

My dear Sir: I beg you to accept my acknowledgment of and thanks for your obliging favors of the 12th. 16th. and 19th. of last Month and particularly for the trouble you had in procuring, and forwarding for me, a Suit of the Hartford Manufacture. It is come safe, and exceeds my expectation, I will take an early opportunity of paying the cost of it.

[59] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

The result of the late Elections will not only soon be known; but the effect of them must soon be discovered. Of the nine Representatives (annon'd) for this State, 6 are decided friends to the Government and the 10th. (yet unknown) from Kentuckey it is expected from the Account which has been received from thence will carry with him a similar disposition. To hear that the Votes have run in favor of Mr. Adams[60] gives me pleasure.

The severe weather and uncommonly bad condition of the Roads in this quarter will prevent the members from this State, giving there attendance in time. One of them went from hence this Morning only, and two yesterday.

I hope this will find you perfectly recovered from your late painful disorder and Mrs. Knox and the rest of the family in good health. Our Affecte. Compliments are offered to them, and with sentiments of the sincerest friendship etc.[61]

To HUGH YOUNG[62]

Mount Vernon, March 3, 1789.

Sir: Your letter of the 16th. Ulto. came duly to hand and I must beg you to accept of my thanks for your polite attention to the little commission which you was so good as to offer to execute for me. I am very glad that the Gooseberry slips are in so good a condition, and hope they will arrive here without any injury.

You will be so kind as to thank Captn. Dyer, in my name, for his attention to the slips and his politeness in refusing to accept any freight for them, which, however is contrary to my wishes.

[60] John Adams.
[61] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.
[62] Of Baltimore, Md.

Mrs. Washington joins me in Compliments to Mrs. Young and yourself. I am etc.[63]

To FRANCIS PEYTON

Mount Vernon, March 3, 1789.

Sir: I have received your letter of the 12th. Ulto. enclosing your Account with me. The Balance of £12.9.4½ due to you, I shall direct to be paid as soon as I can make it convenient. The reason of its not having been discharged before must be owing to the order being involved in my book's) with the Account of Colonel Mercers Estate from whence the wheat was brought and of course not coming so immediately under my observation as it would have done if not connected with that Account. I am etc.[63]

*To RICHARD CONWAY[64]

Mount Vernon, March 4, 1789.

Dear Sir: Never 'till within these two yrs. have I experienced the want of money. Short Crops, and other causes not entirely within my Controul, make me feel it now, very sensibly.

To collect money without the intervention of Suits (and these are tedious) seems impracticable. And Land, which I have offered for Sale, will not command cash at an under value.

Under this statement I am inclined to do what I never expected to be reduced to the necessity of doing, that is, to borrow money upon interest. Five hundred pounds would enable me to discharge what I owe in Alexandria &ca.; and to leave the State (if it shall not be permitted me to remain at home in

[63] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers.*

On March 3 Washington wrote a brief acknowledgment to Robert Adams, of Galway, Ireland, for his care in shipping these gooseberry slips for Sir Edward Newenham. A copy of this letter is in the "Letter Book" in the *Washington Papers.*

[64] Of Alexandria, Va.

retirement) without doing this, would be exceedingly disagreeable to me. Having thus fully and candidly explained myself, permit me to ask if it is in your power to supply me with the above, or a smaller Sum? Any security you may best like, I can give; and you may be assured, that it is no more my inclination than it can be yours, to let it remain long unpaid. Could I get in one fourth part of the money which is due to me by Bonds, or sell any of the landed property which I am inclined to dispose of, I could do it with ease; but independently of these, my Crops and Rents if I am tolerably successful in the first, or have common justice done me in the latter would enable me to do it. Your answer will much oblige Dr. Sir Yr. etc.

[M.L.]

To SAMUEL MEREDITH

Mount Vernon, March 5, 1789.

Dear Sir: I take the earliest occasion to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, dated the 23rd. of February[65] in order to shew how desireous I am of acting a candid part in respect to the application contained in it.

Should it become absolutely necessary for me to occupy the situation, in which your letter pre-supposes me, I have determined to go into it, perfectly free from all engagements of every nature whatsoever. A conduct, in conformity to this resolution, would enable me in ballancing the various pretentions of different Candidates for appointments, to act with a sole reference to justice and the public good. This is, in substance, the answer that I have given to all applications (and they are not few) which have already been made. Among the places sought after in these applications, I must not conceal,

[65] In the *Applications for Office under Washington* in the Library of Congress. He applied for an appointment to the "Impost department."

the office to which you particularly allude, is comprehended. This fact I tell you merely as matter of information. My general manner of thinking, as to the propriety of holding myself totally dis-engaged, will apologize for, my not enlarging farther on the subject.

Though, I am sensible, the public suffrage that places a Man in office, should prevent him from being swayed, in the execution of it, by his private inclinations: yet he may assuredly, without violating his duty, be indulged in the continuance of his former attachments. I beg you will do me the justice to believe that in all personal considerations, I am etc.[66]

To RICHARD CONWAY

Mount Vernon, March 6, 1789.

Dear Sir: I am much obliged by your assurance of Money. Mr. Lear waits upon [you] for it, and carry's a Bond, drawn in the manner you requested. I am very well satisfied to allow 6 per Cent (the Interest of Maryland) because I have not the smallest doubt of the readiness with which you could lend any sum on those terms. If it is necessary that the Bond should be taken *in* Maryland I will exchange the one now sent for another to be given at George Town or opposite to Alexandria (at which ever Ferry I may pass). I would have done it this day but being to set off tomorrow for Fredericksburg in order probably to discharge the last Act of *personal* duty, I may, (from her age) ever have it in my power to pay my Mother, it would be very inconvenient for me.

[66] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

On March 5 Washington wrote briefly to John Dawson, thanking him for information: "the subject is of great moment; and hope such measures will be adopted, respecting the Western Country, as will prevent the United States from receiving any detrement." This letter is in the "Letter Book"; but Dawson's letter, which was dated Feb. 23, 1788, is not now found in the *Washington Papers*.

Upon collecting my Accounts by Mr. Lear the other day, it was found that though 500 £ will enable me to discharge them, yet it is incompetent to this and the other purpose, the expences of my Journey to New York if I go thither; If therefore you could add another hundred pound to the former sum it would be very acceptable. Mr. Lear is provided with a Bond for this sum also.

As you said nothing about security, in your letter, none is given, but I am not less willing and ready notwithstanding to include it in another Bond if you desire it. I am etc.[67]

To BENJAMIN HARRISON

Mount Vernon, March 9, 1789.

My dear Sir: My friendship is not in the least lessened by the difference, which has taken place in our political sentiments; nor is my regard for you diminished by the part you have acted. Men's minds are as varient as their faces, and, where the motives to their actions are pure, the operation of the former is no more to be imputed to them as a crime, than the appearance of the latter; for both, being the work of nature, are equally unavoidable. Liberality and charity, instead of clamor and misrepresentation (which latter only serve to foment the passions, without enlightening the understanding) ought to govern in all disputes about matters of importance: whether the former have appeared in some of the leaders of opposition, the impartial world will decide.

According to report, your individual endeavors to prevent inflammatory measures from being adopted, redounds greatly to your credit. The reasons, my dear Sir, why I have not written

[67] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

These two loans were repaid, the £100 on Sept. 22, 1789, when £100 was also paid on the £500 loan. The remaining £400 was discharged Dec. 15, 1790.

to you for a long time are two; first, because I found it an insupportable task to answer the letters, which were written to me, and, at the same time, to pay that attention to my private concerns which they required; and there being lately little besides politics worthy of notice; secondly, because I did not incline to appear as a partisan in the interesting subject, that has agitated the public mind since the date of my last letter to you. For it was my sincere wish that the Constitution, which had been submitted to the People, might, after a fair and dispassionate investigation, stand or fall according to its merits or demerits. Besides I found from disagreeable experience, that almost all the sentiments extracted from me in answer to private letters or communicated orally, by some means or another found their way into the public Gazettes; as well as some other sentiments ascribed to me, which never had an existence in my imagination.

In touching upon the more delicate part of your letter (the communication of which fills me with real concern) I will deal by you, with all that frankness, which is due to friendship, and which I wish should be a characteristic feature in my conduct through life. I will therefore declare to you, that, if it should be my inevitable fate to administer the government (for Heaven knows, that no event can be less desired by me; and that no earthly consideration short of so general a call, together with a desire to reconcile contending parties as far as in me lays, could again bring me into public life) I will go to the chair under no pre-engagement of any kind or nature whatsoever. But, when in it, I will, to the best of my Judgment, discharge the duties of the office with that impartiality and zeal for the public good, which ought never to suffer connections of blood or friendship to intermingle, so as to have the least sway on decisions of a public nature. I may err, notwithstanding my most strenuous efforts to execute the difficult trust with fidelity and unexceptionably; but my errors shall be of the head, not

of the heart. For all recommendations for appointments, so far as they may depend upon or come from me, a due regard shall be had to the fitness of characters, the pretensions of different candidates, and, so far as is proper, to political considerations. These shall be invariably my governing motives.

You will perceive, then, my dear Sir, that I cannot with propriety say any thing more on the subject, than that several applications have been made to me for the *Office immediately in question,* without having received any answer.[68] I wish you had pursued the policy, which the Gentleman who now occupies it has done, of obtaining the appointment from the Executive of this State. Although that Gentleman was an Officer, yet he is quite unknown to me; and therefore, I cannot speak at all upon the ground of comparative claims of personal merits. I conceive, however, it will be found no pleasant thing possibly very much the reverse to displace one man, under these circumstances of actual occupancy; merely to make room for another, however considerable his abilities, or unimpeached his integrity may appear to the public eye.

Mrs. Washington joins me in every good wish for Mrs. Harrison and your family. I am &c.[69]

To BENJAMIN LINCOLN

Mount Vernon, March 11, 1789.

My Dear Sir: I was favored last evening by yours of the 20th. Ultimo:[70] and am glad to be confirmed in the idea that a spirit of unanimity is becoming still more prevalent.

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[68] Harrison had applied for the appointment of naval officer of the Norfolk district. His letter to Washington, Feb. 26, 1789, is in the *Applications for Office under Washington* in the Library of Congress.

[69] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers.*

[70] In the *Applications for Office under Washington* in the Library of Congress. In his letter he does not apply for any particular office.

My having company with me at present and much occupied with my private concerns, will be considered by you as sufficient reasons for my writing in a laconic manner. I will therefore reply to the principal scope of your letter with all that brevity, frankness and friendship, which, in such cases, one friend has a right to expect from another.

Should it become inevitably necessary for me to go into the chair of government, I have determined to go into it, free from all positive engagements of every nature whatsoever. This is the answer I have already given to a multiplicity of applications; and I have assigned as the true reason of my conduct, the predominant desire I had of being at liberty to act with a sole reference to justice and the public good. But without deviating from that line of proceeding which I had chalked out for myself, I may be permitted to say to you, My dear Sir, that you need not doubt my inclinations are very sincere and very strong to serve you, if I can do it, consistently with my duty to the public. This I say, because I have known you in public life: for I do not intend to be swayed, in the disposal of places, by motives arising from the ties of friendship or blood.

What offices there may be under the New government, or what pretentions may be urged in favor of the different candidates I cannot pretend to foretell: all I will add at present, is, that you may rest assured I am etc.[71]

To BATTAILE MUSE

Mount Vernon, March 12, 1789.

Sir: Your Letters of the 16th and 25th. Ulto are before me. The draft upon Mr. Wales for £20 enclosed in the former was duly discharged by him. The order for one hundred barrels of flour enclosed in the latter is herewith returned. Altho' the

[71] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

Cash, or anything that could produce it, would be very acceptable to me at present, yet I am not so much in want of it as to sink 20 per Cent to obtain it, which I must have done, had I taken your flour at 26/ when the highest price that can be got for it in Alexandria is 21/6 or 22/ if the cash is paid immediately.

As I do not yet know what will be the Amount of my taxes for this year and have some certificates of my own I must decline your offer to lodge a sum in the hands of the Sheriff in Interest Warrants to discharge my taxes.

I wrote to you on the 21st. Ulto. by Colo Willis, and gave you my instructions very fully with respect to the management of my Lands under your care. I must therefore refer you to that letter for any information you wish upon this head.

I have enclosed you a bond of Kennedy's and Speake's which I would wish you to put in suit immediately if there is any prospect of recovering either from the principal or Security. I have also sent you the draft of an advertisement which I will thank you to have inserted in the Winchester paper for four weeks and pay the printer therefore.

I mentioned in my last my acceeding to ten per Cent on your collection of my Rents &c. if that rate was allowed by others of the same business, but I presume that you are to get in what is now due on the usual rate of 6 per Cent, and that the ten per cent will commence upon the collection of future Rents. I am etc.[72]

To FRANCIS HOPKINSON

Mount Vernon, March 13, 1789.

Dear Sir: Your good humor of the 3d,[73] which made me laugh heartily, has fairly driven me out of the field, not, indeed, into

[72] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

[73] In the *Applications for Office under Washington* in the Library of Congress. He applied for appointment in the Admiralty under the Constitution, having served 9 years in the Pennsylvania Admiralty and his commission being about to expire.

the Potowmack, but into a resolution not to strain my wits in making one word of reply, except in sober earnest.

This preliminary being settled, I will tell you all I have to say, in *three* words: though *one* might perhaps suffice, for you know they say "a word to the wise is enough", and why not to the witty? Be assured then, that my inclinations to serve you are sincere and strong, not because I have a friendship for you (for friendship ought to have nothing to do with the matter) but because I think you capable of serving the public well. Yet you will suffer me to add, that, from the time when I began to fear it would become unavoidably necessary for me to go again into public life, I determined in that case to go into it, free from all possible engagements of every kind whatsoever. To this determination, I have faithfully adhered. For I conceived my own reputation, as well as the interest of the community required, that I should be totally at liberty, when in office, to act with a sole reference to justice and the public good. In all cases, I am etc.[74]

To ELIZABETH WASHINGTON LEWIS

Mount Vernon, March 15, 1789.

My dear Sister: Since you were speaking to me concerning your Son Bob, I have thought it probable that I may have occasion for a young person in my family of a good disposition, who writes a good hand, and who can confine himself [to] a certain reasonable number of hours in the 24 to the recording of letters in books, which will be provided for their reception from the separate papers on which they now are and will be first draughted.

If Bob is of opinion that this employment will suit his inclination, and he will take his chance for the allowance that will

[74] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

On March 14 Washington wrote briefly to Henry Lee: "If we have anything which can be of service to Mrs. Lee on her passage, to command it." The full text of this letter is printed in the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. 7, p. 182.

be made (which cannot be great) as there are hundreds who would be glad to come in. I should be very glad to give him the preference. He will be at no expence (except in the article of clothing) as he will be one of the family and live as we do.

Should he incline to engage I could wish to know it by the first post after this letter gets to you, because I shall have many solicitations on this head at or before I get to New York, at which place direct for me, as I presume a letter cannot reach Mount Vernon before I shall have set out.

If he comes, it may be with his Aunt, (and at her expence, as she will want some body to accompany her) when I send my horses back after I am fixed in New York.

He will want no horses there himself, for which reason those or the one that he takes on, should be such as will sell. I am etc.[75]

To DOCTOR FREDERICK PHILE

Mount Vernon, March 15, 1789.

Sir: Yesterday's post brought me your favor of the 7th.[76] In answer to it, I will briefly observe, that if the Administration of the New Government should inevitably fall upon me, that I will go into office *totally* free from pre-engagements of *every* nature whatsoever. And in recommendations to appointments will make justice and the public good, my *sole* objects. Resolving to pursue this rule, invariably, I can add nothing more on the subject of your application,[77] until, the time shall arrive when the merit and justice of every claiment shall appear, when, so far as the matter depends upon me, the principles above mentioned shall to the best of my judgement have their full operation. I am etc.[75]

[75] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers.*
[76] In the *Applications for Office under Washington* in the Library of Congress.
[77] Phile had applied for the appointment of naval officer of Philadelphia.

To CLEMENT BIDDLE

Mount Vernon, March 15, 1789.

Dear Sir: I have now before me your letters of the 16th Ulto. the 5th and 8th Inst. Mrs. Washington's Slippers and Clogs have come safe to hand, the latter, however, are not such as she wished to have, she intended to have had leathern Gloshoes made, and will, by the first convenient opportunity, return the Clogs to Mr. Palmer and get a pair of Gloshoes.

I am very sorry that you did not get the quantity of Buck wheat which I wrote for in time to ship on board the Sloop which you say has sailed for Alexandria. The season is now so far advanced that I have not time to procure it from any other quarter, and must therefore have it from Philadelphia at any rate. A disappointment would be of inconceivable detriment to me. I should sustain a loss of its utility as a manure and derange my system of Crops thereby. I must therefore request that you will delay no time in procuring it, that it may be sent round by the next vessel.

I will thank you to send me four flax wheels, and a box of the Havannah Sugar containg 150 lb. or 200 lbs., as the box may be, if there is any to be had on reasonable terms with you.

As Mr. Smith has not remitted any money to you on my Acct. I have enclosed a bank Note for One hundred dollars which you will pass to my Credit. With great esteem I am etc.[78]

[H. S. P.]

To EMBREE & SHOTWELL

Mount Vernon, March 15, 1789.

Gentlemen: I wrote to you on the 28th of January, according to the terms upon which you proposed to procure a quantity

[78] In the writing of Tobias Lear.

of Clover seed for me, and have lately become very impatient for its arrival. A disappointment in obtaining the Seed seasonably would lay me under an unspeakable disadvantage, much greater than the total loss of the seed would do, for I shall not only be deprived of the benefit which might accrue from it this year but shall be deranged in the system of Cropping which I have determined to pursue, and the ill effects thereof would be severely felt for many years to come. I must therefore beg Gentlemen that you will not fail to ship the Clover and Timothy Seed on board the first Vessel bound for Alexandria as my fields are prepared for receiving the spring grain with which they are to be sown and will wait for them. I am etc.[79]

To JOHN MARSHALL

Mount Vernon, March 17, 1789.

Sir: I have taken the liberty to enclose a protested bill of Exchange drawn in 1763 by the Exts. of William Armsted Esqr. in my favor; which I will thank you to take the necessary steps to recover; and as a compensation for your trouble therewith I will allow you ten per Cent upon whatever you may obtain of the debt. The letters &c. which accompany the bill will serve to shew that the matter has not been totally neglected by me between the time of its being protested and the present period; Applications have been also made by Colo. Fielding Lewis and Lund Washington on my behalf in my absence during the war, but without effect. If this Debt can be recovered without a suit it will be infinitely the most agreeable to me.

I have been frequently troubled with applications to serve summonses in the dispute (which was supposed to exist) between the Heirs of Michl. Cresap and myself concerning a

[79] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

piece of Land on the Ohio. I cannot see what prevents this matter from being closed, for, I presume the Heirs never had an idea of a claim to that land after the nature of my right to it had been explained to them. The substance of the matter is this: When I was engaged in the public service, Michl. Cresap had a piece of Land surveyed on the Ohio which had been *previously* surveyed on Military claims for me; but in 1764, when I was in the western Country, I met with a Mr. Jacobs who married the widow of the said Michael and upon an explanation of the matter he was fully convinced of the priority of my claim and readily gave up his pretentions, since which I have heard nothing of the claim from the Heirs, neither do I believe that they have the least intention of persisting in it. The person concerned in the Land office, upon finding that a warrant had been taken out for a part of the land contained in my survey and a Survey thereof returned me might think it was done by the party with an intention of disputing my claim thereto, and has therefore advised the entering a caveat, when *I believe* there is no intention on the part of any one to contend the Validity of my Patent which has been granted several years. I will thank you Sir, to have the business finally settled. I am etc.[80]

To JAMES MERCER

Mount Vernon, March 18, 1789.

Dear Sir: In receiving you cannot feel more pain than I do by communicating the following information; but as necessity, it is said, has no law, we both must submit to it.

It is now several years since I have been looking for payment of the debt which is due to me from the estate of your deceased father John Mercer Esquire. I have been promised, it is true,

[80] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

considerable sums from time to time by Colonel John Mercer; but it is equally true that I have either not received the money, or received, in such a manner, so disproportionate to his promise, as to be of very little service to me. and for the last twelve months I have not obtained a shilling, nor heard one tittle from him, although at his own request I agreed to receive money in small driblets merely to accomodate him. A mode by no means answering the most valuable purposes for which it was wanted.

This being a true state of the case, and my necessities growing more and more pressing (which I have repeatedly in a full and friendly manner communicated to that Gentleman) candor obliges me to declare to you that unless matters are placed upon a very different footing than what they now are, and in a very short time too, I shall resort to other expedients than fruitless applications.

Did it suit my purposes to *lend money* at interest, that interest, it will be granted, ought to be paid with punctuality, but lending money is so far from being the case with me, that I have been *obliged* from dire necessity to borrow money at *6 pr. ct.,* with very *hard* conditions annexed to it, and even under these disadvantages I am unable to supply my urgent wants. I am thus explicit for the purpose of evincing to you that necessity *alone* prompts me to make this plain, and unequivocal declaration, and because I would not, if the bond &ca. are put in suit have improper motives ascribed to the act, more especially as it can be proved that I have done, and am still willing to do every thing which in reason can be expected from me, under the circumstances I have mentioned to avoid it. With very great regard etc.

P. S. If the deed of confirmation for the land on 4 mile-run which I bought from the Attornies of your Brother Colo. George Mercer, is in your possession I should be glad to receive it, and if

you can inform me from recollection whether Deeds passed to me, at the sale of the Shenandoah land, for the two lots I bought there, it would oblige me; I can find none among my land papers, and could wish to have the title to it secured.[81]

To WILLIAM CRAIK

Mount Vernon, March 19, 1789.

Dear Sir: This letter will be handed to you by Mr. Dunnington (my tenant in Charles City) who can, more fully than I, explain to you the nature and circumstances of some disputes in which the land he lives on is involved. To enable him to do it more clearly I enclose you a plot of the Land. Two matters it seems will call for your attention, namely to dispossess one Perry of part of my property which he holds under a younger Patent, and to secure for my benefit vacant land within the heart of my tract, which one Stromat has surveyed; but not having complied with the tenor of your Laws is subject to a Proclamation warrant, by which I may still avoid the evil which his possession of the Land would incur. To effect the last, will require secrecy and dispatch; for should it transpire that I am about to take out a Proclamation Warrant he would no doubt be beforehand with me.

I submit these matters to you, under the uncertainty of not knowing what Steps are proper for me to take, and indeed, circumstanced as I am at this moment, because I have not time to take them. The Proclamation Warrant Mr. Dunnington says will cost 31/3 but as I have no certainty that it can be obtained; as I mean to proceed upon sure ground in both cases; and for a stronger reason than either, because I have it not, I send you no money at this time, to prosecute these matters if in your Judg-

[81] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers.*

ment it shall appear advisable to prosecute them. For the fact is, it would have been for my interest to have sunk my demand altogether upon Adams rather than to have taken his Land, having paid more than the worth of it to others to relieve it from the Incumbrances which were on it. Under these circumstances I feel sore and very unwilling to open more sources of expenditure. I am etc.[82]

To ROBERT DICK[83]

Mount Vernon, March 21, 1789.

Sir: I am much obliged to you for the trouble you was so good as to take in forwarding to me the report of the Committee of Council at Quebec to Lord Dorchester.[84] The paper contains many things of importance, and, although I do not doubt in the least its authenticity; yet, if there should not appear to be any thing indiscreet in the request, I should be glad to be more particularly ascertained of the evidence, or circumstances indicative of its authenticity. With great regard, I am etc.[82]

To ANNIS BOUDINOT STOCKTON

Mount Vernon, March 21, 1789.

My dear Madam: Upon taking up my pen to express my sensibility for the flattering sentiments you are still pleased to entertain of me, I found my advocations would only permit me to blend the demonstration of that grateful feeling with an acknowledgement of the receipt of your polite letter and elegant poem.[85]

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[82] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

[83] Of Bladensburg, Md.

[84] A copy of this report, in the writing of Robert Dick, is in the *Washington Papers* at the end of the year 1787.

[85] Mrs. Stockton's letter of March 13, and her ode, are in the *Washington Papers*.

Be pleased then to accept my thanks for them.

The joint good wishes of Mrs. Washington and myself for yourself and family conclude me, My dear Madam, With great esteem and regard, Your etc.[86]

To GUSTAVUS SCOTT

Mount Vernon, March 21, 1789.

Sir: I was yesterday favored with the receipt of your letter of the 10th instant, through the medium of my Nephew to whom it had been committed: and I must be dispensed with for only giving the general reply, which I have lately found it necessary to give on several similar occasions. For since it has been expected that I should be called to the chair of government, many applications have been made to me on the subject of appointments to the different offices which might be established under it. In answer to which I have written to the following effect.

That, in case it should be my unavoidable lot to go again into public office, I had determined to go into it, without being under any possible obligations or promises of any nature whatsoever: and that, in my judgment, three things ought to be much regarded by the person who should have the power of making nominations, viz, the fitness of characters to fill offices, the comparitive merit of the claims of the different candidates for appointments, and the equal distribution of those appointments (so far as that matter might be conveniently arranged) among Inhabitants of the various States in the Union. To these things I added, that these considerations were not intended to be considered as affecting in any manner whatsoever the pretentions of the person to whom they were addressed. As I

[86] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

thought it highly requisite for my own reputation, as well as for the interest of the community, that, in all events, I should hold myself perfectly at liberty to act with a sole reference to justice and the public good.

From this clue, Sir, you will be able to trace my general fashion of thinking on the subject of appointments. Being somewhat pressed in point of time, I will therefore only add, that I can at present form no conjecture what or how many offices will be created in the Judicial Department, at the commencement of the government. Some respectable professional knowledge will doubtless be necessary for filling such as may be created.

With sentiments of great esteem etc.[87]

To SAMUEL VAUGHAN

Mount Vernon, March 21, 1789.

My dear Sir: I have just now been favored with the receipt of your letter, dated the 10th. of October last; and would not delay to make my acknowledgments by the earliest opportunity. While I appreciate with gratitude the favorable sentiments you are pleased to express for me; I flatter myself, in the communication of the following ideas which have occurred on the subject of your letter, you will be persuaded I am influenced alone by that genuine frankness, which is most consistant with friendship and which I desire may ever be a characteristic feature in my conduct through life.

The event which I have long dreaded, I am at last constrained to believe, is now likely to happen. For that I have, during many months, been oppressed with an apprehension it might be deemed unavoidably expedient for me to go again

[87] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

into public life, is known to all, who know me. But from the moment, when the necessity had become more apparent, and as it were inevitable, I anticipated, in a heart filled with distress, the ten thousand embarrassments, perplexities and troubles to which I must again be exposed in the evening of a life, already nearly consumed in public cares. Among all these anxieties, I will not conceal from you, I anticipated none greater, than those that were likely to be produced by applications for appointments to the different offices, which would be created under the new Government. Nor will I conceal, that my apprehensions have already been but too well justified. Scarcely a day passes in which applications of one kind or another do not arrive. Insomuch, that had I not early adopted some general principles, I should before this time have been wholly occupied in this business. As it is, I have found the number of answers, which I have been necessitated to give in my own hand, an almost insupportable burden to me. The points in which all these answers have agreed in substance are: that should it be my lot to go again into public office, I would go into it, without being under any possible engagements of any nature whatsoever: that, so far as I know my own heart, I would not be in the remotest degree influenced, in making nominations, by motives arising from the ties of amity or blood: and that, on the other hand, three things, in my opinion, ought principally to be regarded, viz, the fitness of characters to fill offices, the comparative claims from the former merits and sufferings in service of the different candidates, and the distribution of appointments in as equal a proportion as might be to persons belonging to the different States in the Union; for without precautions of this kind, I clearly foresaw the endless jealousies, and, possibly, the fatal consequences, to which a government, depending altogether on the good will of the

people for its establishment, would certainly be exposed in its early stages. Besides I thought, whatever the effect might be in pleasing or displeasing any individuals at the present moment, a due concern for my own reputation not less decisively than a sacred regard to the interest of the community, required that I should hold myself absolutely at liberty to act, while in office, with a sole reference to justice and the public good. It is true, in such a fallible state of existence I may err, and from the want of a complete knowledge of characters in my nominations: but my errors shall be such as result from the head, and not from the heart.

The hurry I am at present in will not permit me to be so particular, as I wished to have been. Nor would the limits of a letter suffice to describe the difficulty which I fear might occur in conferring important offices upon persons, however meritorious they may really be, who have resided but a little while, and are consequently but little known in America. A single disgust excited in a particular State on this account, might, perhaps, raise a flame of opposition that could not easily, if ever, be extinguished. For the fact, I apprehend, will be found to be, that there will be at least a hundred competitors for every office of any kind of importance. Indeed, the number of offices will, in our œconomical management of the affairs of the Republic, be much fewer, as I conceive, and the pretentions of those who may wish to occupy them much more forcible; than many well informed men have imagined. In all events, so much I can with truth declare, that several of the candidates, who have already come forward, have claims to the public attention and gratitude, which cannot be set aside without a palpable act of injustice. Some of them are men of unquestionable talents, who have *wasted* the flower of their lives, in the civil or military service of their Country: men who have materially

injured their properties, and excluded themselves from obtaining a subsistance for their families by the professions they were accustomed to pursue. There are some, I may add, who have shed their blood and deserved all that a grateful Country has to bestow. Nor are they, in my judgment, incapable of reflecting lustre on the most dignified Stations.

From this simple, but just state of circumstances, you will perceive, my dear Sir, on what an ocean of troubles I am likely to be embarked. In the meantime, you will suffer me to observe, that, from the very satisfactory accounts I have been able to obtain of your Son's abilities, accomplishments and dispositions, I am thoroughly persuaded he is capable of discharging the duties of a public office, with the greatest reputation to himself and advantage to the government which might employ him. But, however, I may be convinced of his merits; or, however, I may be disposed to serve him: you will be able to comprehend, from what I have already said, a part of the serious obstacles which will oppose themselves to the success of any Candidate, so partially known in America as he is. I have no conception of a more delicate task, than that, which is imposed by the Constitution on the Executive. It is the nature of Republicans, who are nearly in a state of equality, to be extremely jealous as to the disposal of all honorary or lucrative appointments. Perfectly convinced I am, that, if injudicious or unpopular measures should be taken by the Executive under the New Government with regards to appointments, the Government itself would be in the utmost danger of being utterly subverted by those measures. So necessary is it, at this crisis, to conciliate the good will of the People: and so impossible is it, in my judgment, to build the edifice of public happiness, but upon their affections.

Your good sense and native candour must serve me as an apology, for being thus explicit. Mrs. Washington and the

family desire their most respectful compliments may be presented to you. I add no more than that you may ever count upon the friendly Sentiments and best wishes of him who has the pleasure to subscribe himself. With real esteem etc.[88]

To EDWARD STEVENS

Mount Vernon, March 21, 1789.

Dear Sir: The letter which you was pleased to address to me, on the 16th. of this month, has been duly received; and in the acknowledgment thereof, I find myself at liberty only to make a few observations on the general subject of appointments to offices under the New Government. Should it inevitably prove my lot to hold the Chief Magistracy, I have determined to go into office, without being under any pre-engagements, to any person, of any nature whatsoever. This answer I have already often given, and especially to some very important applications for the Naval Office in the district of Norfolk. And this line of conduct I have observed, because I thought (if I should be in the predicament before alluded to) the justice I owed to my own reputation, and the justice I owed to my Country required that I should be perfectly free to act, while in office, with a supreme and undeviating regard for individual merit, and the public good.

Altho' I can easily conceive that the general principles on which nominations ought in good policy and equity to be made may be easily ascertained still I cannot possibly form a conception of a more delicate and arduous task, than the particular application of those principles to practice.

Few reasonable Men will, I suppose, deny that the fitness of characters to fill offices and the comparative validity of the

[88] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers.*

claims of different Candidates, together with, perhaps, some political considerations of a local nature, are objects principally to be attended to in making those nominations: yet every reasonable Man must conclude, that with the best possible intentions, it will be impossible to give universal satisfaction. You will perceive these observations are not designed to apply to any particular case; from them, however, you may collect my manner of thinking on the subject.

As from your known respectability in the State it was probably in your power to have obtained the office at Norfolk, on the resignation of Colo. Parker; and as the circumstances of actual occupancy would undoubtedly have brought a great additional weight to your other claims, I almost wonder you had not taken that previous, and, apparently, essentially necessary step. For it appears to me, it will be a most unpleasant thing to turn out of office one man, against whom there is no charge of misconduct; merely to make room for another, however conspicuous his integrity and abilities may be.

In the meantime these considerations are barely suggested, with all that frankness which I trust would be expected from me, and under all the impressions of real respect and esteem with which, I am etc.[89]

To SAMUEL VAUGHAN, JUNIOR

Mount Vernon, March 21, 1789.

Sir: In acknowledging the letter, which I had the pleasure to receive from you by the last mail, I should have thought myself obliged, from principles of politeness and regard for you as well as from motives of justice to myself, to have entered into a full explanation of my general sentiments and feelings on the sub-

[89] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

ject; did not the enclosed letter for your father (which is left open for your inspection, and which you will be pleased to have closed and forwarded) explain them as fully as I am at leisure to do at this time.

In case it should be my unavoidable fortune to occupy the chair of government, I may be under the necessity of adopting a system of public conduct altogether from reasons of State: but I pray you will be persuaded that my inclinations for paying particular attention to distinguished talents and merits can never fail of being sincere; and that in all personal consideration I shall remain

With Sentiments of the highest regard etc.[90]

To JOHN CANNON

Mount Vernon, March 22, 1789.

Sir: I have received your letter of the 29th of January enclosing a statement of the Rents paid by the tenants occupying my Land which is under your care. The price of flour in your neighbourhood (which I am informed by Majr. McCormack is 25/ Virginia currency per bbl.) will make me some amends for receiving the Rents in wheat instead of Cash which could not be obtained from the tenants for the rate at which those Lands are leased is so low, that it would require a considerable number of years to reimburse the monies which I have been obliged to pay to recover my property, if the prices of produce was not higher than it has generally been in those parts.

I am not inclined to incur any more expences upon my mill in Fayette County, for it has already been such a source of expence and vexation to me that I am discouraged from making

[90] Both of these letters were put under cover of a brief note to John Vaughan for him to forward. Copies of these letters and note are in the "Letter Book" in the *Washington Papers.*

any attempt to repair it if money must be laid out for that purpose. However if it can be put in order and made profitable to me by allowing the person who repairs it a share of the profits for a limited time, I should have no objection to its being done, provided an unreasonable length of time was not demanded for the person to receive a share of the profits.

The great distance that I am from my Land, and the little knowledge I have of its present state will not enable me to give you any particular instructions respecting the management of it. As you are upon the spot, are acquainted with the particular circumstances, and, I have no doubt, are desireous of promoting my interest, you will take such steps as will conduce to the advantage of my property which is under your care. I would only observe generally, 1st. That I would not wish to have the land incumbered with long leases (ten years is the extent of time that I am inclined to give a lease for) because it is probable that the rate at which it would now rent will not be so high as it may command a few years hence, or if I dispose of it, long leases will injure the sale very essentially. 2dly. I have found from long experience, that a punctual payment of the Rent, and a pointed compliance with the covenants of the leases are extremely beneficial both to the Landlord and Tenant, for if the latter omits the payment of the Rent from year to year he will find it very difficult to accumulate enough at the end of 3 or 4 years to pay off his arrearages; where as, if he is convinced that he must do it at the experation of every year he will exert himself for that purpose, and the Rents are so low that an industrious man will never feel it, and no indulgence that can be given to a lazy person will ever be to his advantage; it will rather encourage his idleness. I would therefore never have the Rents postponed unless in some particular cases where the Tenant has suffered by fire, or is disabled by some act of providence.

3dly. I observe in your Statement of the rents that some of the tenants have a deduction made in consequence of their getting, and putting up a number of Rails. I cannot see the propriety or Justice of this, because it is a matter by which the tenant *alone* is to be benefited; if improvements of a durable kind were made there would be some plea for an abatement of the rent because I might receive an advantage by its inhancing the real value of the property; but it should always be certain that the allowance made does not exceed the value of the improvements.

You will be so good as to transmit me an annual account of the Rents. The disposal of the produce, and the money you may from time to time send me. This will enable me to keep a regular account of my Tenements and see in what situation they stand, you may remit money to me when safe opportunities offer either to my Nephew Majr. George A. Washington at this place, or to New York, and give me leave to add, that it can at no time be more acceptable than the present. With due regard and esteem I am etc.[91]

To GEORGE STEPTOE WASHINGTON

Mount Vernon, March 23, 1789.

Dear George: As it is probable I shall soon be under the necessity of quitting this place, and entering once more into the bustle of public life, in conformity to the voice of my Country, and the earnest entreaties of my friends, however contrary it is to my own desires or inclinations, I think it incumbent on me as your uncle and friend, to give you some advisory hints, which, if properly attended to, will, I conceive, be found very useful to you in regulating your conduct and giving you respectability, not only at present, but thro' every period of life.

[91] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

You have now arrived to that age when you must quit the trifling amusements of a boy, and assume the more dignified manners of a man.

At this crisis your conduct will attract the notice of those who are about you, and as the first impressions are generally the most lasting, your doings now may mark the leading traits of your character through life. It is therefore absolutely necessary if you mean to make any figure upon the stage, that you should take the first steps right. What these steps are, and what general line is to be pursued to lay the foundation of an honorable and happy progress, is the part of age and experience to point out. This I shall do, as far as in my power with the utmost chearfulness; and, I trust, that your own good sense will shew you the necessity of following it. The first and great object with you at present is to acquire, by industry, and application, such knowledge as your situation enables you to obtain, as will be useful to you in life. In doing this two other important advantages will be gained besides the acquisition of knowledge: namely, a habit of industry, and a disrelish of that profusion of money and dissipation of time which are ever attendant upon idleness. I do not mean by a close application to your studies that you should never enter into those amusements which are suited to your age and station: they can be made to go hand in hand with each other, and, used in their proper seasons, will ever be found to be a mutual assistance to one another. But what amusements, and when they are to be taken, is the great matter to be attended to. Your own judgement, with the advice of your *real* friends who may have an opportunity of a personal intercourse with you, can point out the particular manner in which you may best spend your moments of relaxation, better than I can at a distance. One thing, however, I would strongly impress upon you, vizt. that when

you have leisure to go into company that it should always be of the best kind that the place you are in will afford; by this means you will be constantly improving your manners and cultivating your mind while you are relaxing from your books; and good company will always be found much less expensive than bad. You cannot offer, as an excuse for not using it, that you cannot gain admission there; or that you have not a proper attention paid you in it: this is an apology made only by those whose manners are disgusting, or whose character is exceptionable; neither of which I hope will ever be said of you. I cannot enjoin too strongly upon you a due observance of œconomy and frugality, as you well know yourself, the present state of your property and finances will not admit of any unnecessary expense. The article of clothing is now one of the chief expences, you will incur, and in this, I fear, you are not so œconomical as you should be. Decency and cleanliness will always be the first object in the dress of a judicious and sensible man; a conformity to the prevailing fashion in a certain degree is necessary; but it does not from thence follow that a man should always get a new Coat, or other clothes, upon every trifling change in the mode, when perhaps he has two or three very good ones by him. A person who is anxious to be a leader of the fashion, or one of the first to follow it will certainly appear in the eyes of judicious men, to have nothing better than a frequent change of dress to recommend him to notice. I would always wish you to appear sufficiently decent to entitle you to admission into any company where you may be; but I cannot too strongly enjoin it upon you, and your own knowledge must convince you of the truth of it, that you should be as little expensive in this respect as you properly can. You should always keep some clothes to wear to Church, or on particular occasions, which should not be worn everyday; this can be done without any additional expence;

for whenever it is necessary to get new clothes, those which have been kept for particular occasions will then come in as every-day ones, unless they should be of a superior quality to the new. What I have said with respect to clothes will apply perhaps more pointedly to Lawrence than to you; and as you are much older than he is, and more capable of judging of the propriety of what I have here observed, you must pay attention to him in this respect, and see that he does not wear his Clothes improperly or extravagantly. Much more might be said to you, as a young man, upon the necessity of paying due attention to the moral virtues; but this may, perhaps, more properly be the subject of a future letter when you may be about to enter into the world. If you comply with the advice herein given to pay a diligent attention to your studies, and employ your time of relaxation in proper company, you will find but few opportunities and little inclination, while you continue at an Acadimy, to enter into those scenes of vice and dissipation which too often present themselves to youth in every place, and particularly in towns. If you are determined to neglect your books, and plunge into extravagance and dissipation, nothing I could say now would prevent it; for you must be employed, and if it is not in pursuit of those things which are profitable, it must be in pursuit of those which are destructive. As your time of continuing with Mr. Hanson will expire the last of this month and I understand Dr. Craik has expressed an inclination to take you and Lawrence to board with him, I shall know his determination respecting the matter; and if it is agreeable to him and Mrs. Craik to take you, I shall be pleased with it, for I am certain that nothing will be wanting on their parts to make your situation agreeable and useful to you. Should you live with the Doctor I shall request him to take you both under his peculiar care; provide such clothes for you, from time to time, as he shall judge neces-

sary, and do by you in the same manner as he would if you were his own children. Which if he will undertake, I am sensible, from knowledge which I have of him, and the very amiable character and disposition of Mrs. Craik, that they will spare no proper exertions to make your situation pleasing and profitable to you. Should you or Lawrence therefore behave in such a manner as to occasion any complaint being made to me, you may depend upon losing that place which you now have in my affections, and any future hopes you may have from me. But if, on the contrary, your conduct is such as to merit my regard, you may always depend upon the warmest attachment, and sincere affection of Your friend and Uncle.[92]

To GEORGE MASON

Mount Vernon, March 23, 1789.

Sir: Your Coachman applied to me yesterday (through my Nephew) for employment. I informed him it was not my custom to treat with any one in the service of another unless it was well ascertained that a seperation was about to take place, nor then unless sufficient testimonials could be produced of sobriety, of Skill, honesty and industry in the occupation that was followed. To the First, he replied that last fall he had given you notice of his intention to leave you, and that his design (before he made application to me) was to have gone to the Northward next month; Moreover that he had taught one of your own Servants to drive and his services now were of little use to you. And with respect to the latter, that he had no doubt of obtaining a character from you.

As the mans person and character are entirely unknown to me, I take the liberty of enquiring if this account be true? for I

[92] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

shall make no overtures to him, nor will I employ him (altho' I want a Coachman) unless it is with your knowledge and consent he leaves you, nor then, as I have observed before, unless he can obtain such a character as will satisfy me. A perfect one is not to be expected. Information in this matter would, at this time, be very acceptable to me. I send therefore on purpose to obtain it, and if the man is at liberty to engage I should be glad (if it is convenient to you) to see him immediately. From motives of delicacy when he was here, I refused to have any conversation with him, untill I first knew from you on what footing he stands. If to part, I would in that case thank you for information with respect to the wages and priviledges you allow him and the services expected for them. To *enter* my service three weeks or a month hence would answer my purposes but to be *ascertained* of it, is immediately necessary, that I may either depend upon him, or look out elsewhere. With compliments in which Mrs. Washington Join. I am, etc.[93]

*To ROBERT LEWIS

Mount Vernon, March 24, 1789.

Dear Bob: Your letters of the 18th. to your Aunt and myself, found me at this place, where it is not likely I shall remain much longer.

It is not very probable, as I shall want to be well fixed at New York before I send for your Aunt, and the same Horses will have to carry us both there, that she will be able to commence her journey for that place before the first of May. But in this, as in every dependent event of your life, I would advise you to prepare for it in time. If you are ready before it happens,

[93] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers.*
Mason's answer, dated Mar. 23, 1789, is in the *Washington Papers.*

no possible injury will be sustained thereby; but if the event is too forward for your preparations, very great inconveniences may. As soon as your Aunt is advised by me, of the time my horses will set out, your Couzen George will give you notice of it, that you may be here in time to commence your Squire-ship.

She joins me in love to my Sister, and requests that she and Mrs. Willis[94] may be informed of the pleasure she shall have in their companies. I am etc.

PS. I should be glad if you would send the enclosed Letter to Mr. Fitzhugh.[95] [N. Y. P. L.]

To GOVERNOR GEORGE CLINTON

Mount Vernon, March 25, 1789.

Dear Sir: With very great sensibility I have received the honor of your letter dated the 10th instant, and consider the kind and obliging invitation to your house, until suitable accommodations can be provided for the President, as a testimony of your friendship and politeness, of which I shall ever retain a grateful sense. But if it should be my lot (for Heaven knows it is not my wish) to appear again in a public *Station,* I shall make it a point to take hired lodgings, or Rooms in a Tavern until some House can be provided. Because it would be wrong, in my real Judgment, to impose such a burden on any private family, as must unavoidably be occasioned by my company: and because I think it would be generally expected, that, being supported by the public at large, I should not be burdensome to Individuals. With respect to the other part of your letter, which is expressive of a wish to be apprized of the time of my approach to the City, I can assure you, with the utmost sincerity,

[94] Mrs. Francis Willis.

[95] Of Chatham, Va. The address sheet bears this note by Washington: "If he is not at home the letter is to be opened by Mrs. Lewis."

that no reception can be so congenial to my feelings as a quiet entry devoid of ceremony, be the manner of it what it may. I have the honor to be &c.[96]

To JOHN DANDRIDGE

Mount Vernon, March 26, 1789.

Dear Sir: The enclosed letters will shew you the reason of my not having written to you sooner upon the subject of the Land which you offered me. If the valuation mentioned by Colonel Lewis is agreeable to you I will take it at that; but if you think the price too low I am willing to wait for the payment of the debt due from your fathers Estate until you can discharge it by some other means more agreeable to yourself at a more convenient time.

Your Sister Patty is well and joins your Aunt, myself and the others under my roof in love and best wishes to you and the family. With very sincere regard etc.[96]

To THOMAS MARSHALL

Mount Vernon, March 27, 1789.

Dear Sir: I have duly received your letter dated the 12 of February.[97] If I was greatly alarmed at the nature of the transactions mentioned in it, I was not less obliged to you for communicating so clear an account of them. It is true I had previously received some verbal and written information on the subject of a similar tenor; but none which placed the affair in such an alarm-

[96] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers.*

[97] In the *Washington Papers.* Marshall describes James Wilkinson's dealings with the Spanish governor at New Orleans and the British activities from Canada. Washington inclosed his answer in a note dated March 27, addressed to John Marshall, at Richmond, requesting its forwarding "with safety and expedition." A photostat from the original of this note, which is in the Hunterian Library, Glasgow, is in the "Washington Photostats" in the *Washington Papers.*

ing point of view, as that in which I now behold it. Not knowing of any certain conveyance for this letter, which might justify me in being more explicit, I will delay writing more fully until some safer method of bringing my sentiments to you can be obtained. In the meantime, as I know you are sincerely devoted to the interests of your country, and warmly attached to the prosperity of the Union at large, I shall hope you will persist in taking the most *discreet* and *effectual measures* for obtaining as accurate a knowledge as possible of the transactions in your quarter. A *Report* of which I shall earnestly request to be favored with, whenever you shall have the power of transmitting it through a confidential channel, or, if it shall be found necessary, whenever a cypher shall be established between us. For, without some such precautions, a miscarriage of letters on such delicate subjects, might be attended with very disadvantageous consequences. With the greatest esteem etc.[98]

To WILLIAM CRAIK

Mount Vernon, March 27, 1789.

Dear Sir: Your favor of the 22d. has been handed to me, and I beg you to accept my thanks for the prompt and decisive measure you have taken with respect to the Proclamation Warrant, and other matters relative to my Land in Charles County. I have no particular direction to give concerning the first except to proceed *safely* but not precipitately, as the latter though it may not involve greater expence than *safe* delay, may yet throw me into an advance of Money before I am prepared for it, for the truth, my expences have run so high of late years that I want a little time to breathe. But I would not be understood by this to hazard anything. I therefore leave the matter to your own

[98] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

Judgment. In a little Time, if the call for Taxes, do not devour what is expected from my Rents, &c., My Nephew George A. Washington will be enabled to comply with the calls as they may arise.

The Surveyor, it is presumed, notwithstanding from Survey of the Vacancy will recharge, tho' I do not see that he will have occasion to stretch a chain on the land; perhaps in this case some compromise may be made with him. I do not however mean by this to be exempt from common usage, with esteem I am, etc.[99]

To CLEMENT BIDDLE

Mount Vernon, March 30, 1789.

Dear Sir: I have received your letter of the 23d. Inst. and am in hopes that the buck-wheat will arrive in season.

I will thank you to send me, by the first post after this reaches you, fourteen yards of Livery lace agreeably to the enclosed pattern; and let it be directed to me, or, in my absence, to Major George Augne. Washington at this place. With great regard, I am etc.[1] [H.S.P.]

*To JAMES MADISON

Mount Vernon, March 30, 1789.

My dear Sir: I have been favored with your Letter of the 19th; by which it appears that a quoram of Congress was hardly to be expected until the beginning of the *past* week. As this

[99] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

[1] In the writing of Tobias Lear.

On March — (the date is mutilated) Lear sent a letter to Biddle, to be forwarded and added a P. S. "The General will thank Colonel Biddle to desire a Mr. Parish (a Hat [maker in] Philadelphia who made a hat for him some years since) to have a cock'd Hat made of [mutilated] fur; the fur upon the hat to be short; and let it not be made in the *extreme* of the fashion. It must be ready for the General when he may call for it in passing through Philadelphia." The original of this letter is in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

delay must be very irksome to the attending Members, and every days continuance of it (before the Government is in operation) will be more sensibly felt; I am resolved, no interruption shall proceed from me that can well be avoided (after notice of the Election is announced); and therefore take the liberty of requesting the favor of you to engage Lodgings for me previous to my arrival. Colo. Humphreys, I presume, will be of my party; and Mr. Lear who has already lived three years with me as a private Secretary, will accompany, or preceed me in the stage.

On the subject of lodgings I will frankly declare, I mean to go into none but hired ones. If these cannot be had tolerably convenient (I am not very nice) I would take rooms in the most decent Tavern, till a house can be provided for the more permanent reception of the President. I have already declined a very polite and pressing offer from the Governor, to lodge at his house till a place could be prepared for me; after which should any other of a similar nature be made, there would be no propriety in the acceptance. But as you are fully acquainted with sentiments on this subject, I shall only add, that as I mean to avoid private families on the one hand, so on another, I am not desirous of being placed *early* in a situation for entertaining. Therefore, hired (private) lodgings would not only be more agreeable to my own wishes, but, possibly, more consistent with the dictates of sound policy. For, as it is my wish and intention to conform to the public desire and expectation, with respect to the style proper for the Chief Magistrate to live in, it might be well to know (as far as the nature of the case will admit) what these are before he enters upon it.

After all, something may perhaps have been decided upon with respect to the accommodations of the President, before this letter wd. have reached you that may render this application

nugatory. If otherwise, I will sum up all my wishes in one word, and that is to be placed in an independent situation, with the prospect I have alluded to, before me. With strong, and Affectionate friendship I am etc. [N.Y.P.L.]

*To GEORGE AUGUSTINE WASHINGTON

Mount Vernon, March 31, 1789.

Having given very full and ample details of the intended crops, and my ideas of the modes of managing them at the several Plantations, little, if these are observed, need be added on this subject. But as the profit of every Farm is greater, or less, in proportion to the quantity of the manure which is made thereon, or can be obtained; and by keeping the fields in good condition. These two important requisites ought never to be lost sight of. To effect the first, besides the ordinary means of Farm yards, Cowpens, Sheep folds, Stables, &ca. it would be of essential use if a certain proportion of the force of each Plantation could be appropriated in the Summer or early part of Autumn to the purpose of getting up mud to be ameliorated by the frosts of Winter for the spring crops wch. are to follow: And to accomplish the latter the Gullies in these fields (previous to their being sown with Grain and Grass-seeds ought, invariably to be filled up. By so doing and a small sprinkling of manure thereon they will acquire a green-sward, and strength of soil sufficient to preserve them; and these are the only means I know of by which exhausted Land can be recovered, and an Estates rescued from destruction.

Although a precise number of Tobacco Hills is, by my general directions, allotted to each Plantation yet my real intention is, that no more ground shall be appropriated to this Crop than what is either naturally *very* good (for which purpose small

spots may be chosen) or which can be made strong by manure of some kind or another, for my object is to labour for profit, and therefore to substitute quality instead of quantity there being (except in the Article of manuring) no difference between attending a good Plant and an indifferent one, but in any event let the precise number of hills be ascertained that an estimate may be formed of their yield to the thousand.

Being thoroughly convinced, from experience, that embezzlement and waste of Crops (to say nothing of the various accidents to which they are liable by delays) are encreased proportionately to the time they are suffered to remain on hand: my wish is, as soon as circumstances will permit after the Grain is harvested, that it may be got out of the Straw (especially at the Plantations where there are no Barns) and either disposed of in proper deposits, or sold if the price is tolerable (after, if it is wheat, it has been converted into flour). When this work is set about as the sole, or as a serious business it will be executed properly. But when a little is done now, and a little then, there is more waste, even if there should be no embezzlement than can well be conceived.

There is one or two other matters which I beg may be invariably attended to. The first is, to begin Harvest as soon as the grain can be cut with Safety; and the next, to get it in the ground in due season. Wheat should be sown by the last of August, at any rate by the 10th. of Septr., and other fall Grain as soon after as possible. Spring grain and Grass Seeds should be sown as soon as the ground can possibly (with propriety) be prepared for their reception.

For such essential purposes as may absolutely require the aid of the Ditchers they may be taken from the work. At all other times they must proceed in the manner which has been directed formerly. And in making the New Roads from the Ferry to

the Mill, and from the Tumbling Dam across the Neck 'till it communicates with the Alexandria Road, as has been pointed out on the spot. The Ditch from the Ferry to the Mill along this Road may be a common four feet one. But from the Mill to the Tumbling dam and thence across to the head of the old field by Muddy hole farm must be five feet wide at top, but no deeper than the four feet one and the same width at bottom as the latter.

After the Carpenters have given security to the old Barn in the Neck, they must proceed to the completion of the New one at the Ferry, according to the Plan and the explanations which have been given. Gunner and Tom Davis should get Bricks made for this purpose; and if John Knowles could be spared (his work, not only with respect to time, but quantity and quality to be amply returned) to examine the bilged walls, and the security of them; but to level and lay the foundations of the other work when the Bricks are ready it would be rendering me an essential service and as the work might be returned in time and proper season would be no detriment to your buildings.

When the Brick work is executed at the Ferry Barn, Gunner and Davis must repair to D: Run and make Bricks there; at the place and in the manner which has been directed that I may have no sammon bricks in that building.

Oyster shells should be bought wherever they are offered for Sale; if good and reasonable.

Such monies as you may receive for Flour, Barley, Fish, as also for other things wch. can be spared and sold. As also for Rents, the use of the Jacks &ca. And for Book debts which may be tried though little is expected from the justice of those who have been long endulged, May be applied to the payment of Workmens Wages as they arise, Fairfax, and the Taxes. and

likewise to the payment of any just debts which I may be owing (in small sums) and have not been able to discharge previous to my leaving the State. The residue may await further orders.

As I shall want shingles, Plank, Nails, Rum for Harvest, Scantling, and such like things which would cost me money at another time, Fish may be bartered for them. The Scantling (if any is taken) must be such as will suit for the Barn now about, or that at Dogue run, without waste and of good quality.

I find it is indispensably necessary for two reasons, to save my own clover and Timothy Seed: first, because it is the *only* certain means of having it good and in due season, and secondly because I find it is a heavy article to purchase.

Save all the honey locust seed you can, of that which belongs to me, if more could be obtained the better. and in the fall plant them on the Ditches where they are to remain about 6 Inches apart one Seed from another.

The Seeds which are on the case in my Study ought without loss of time to be sown or planted in my Botanical garden, and proper memos. kept of the time and places.

You will use your best endeavors to obtain the means for support of G. and L Washington, who I expect will board (till something further can be decided on) with Doctr. Craik; who must be requested to see that they are decently and properly provided with Clothes from Mr. Porter's Store, who will give them a credit on my becoming answerable to him for the payment. And as I know of no resource that Harriott has for Supplies but from me; Fanny will, from time to time as occasion may require have such things got for her, on my account as she shall judge necessary. Mrs. Washington will I expect, leave her tolerably well provided with common articles for the present.

My Memorandum books, which will be left in my study, will inform you of the times and places when, and where different kinds of Wheat, Grass Seeds &ca. were sown. Let particular attention be paid to the quality and quantity of each sort, that a proper judgmt. of them may be formed. To do this great care must be taken to prevent mixture of these several sorts as they are so contiguous to each other.

The general superintendence of my Affairs is all I require of you, for it is neither my desire nor wish that you should become a drudge to it; or, that you should refrain from any amusements, or visitings which may be agreeable either to Fanny or yourself to make or receive. If Fairfax,[2] the Farmer[3] and Thomas Green, on each of whom I have endeavoured to impress a proper sense of their duty will act their part with propriety and fidelity nothing more will be necessary for you to do than would comport with amusement and that exercise which is condusive to health. Nor is it my wish that you should live in too parsimonious and niggardly a manner. Frugality and œconomy are undoubtedly commendable and all that is required. Happily for this Country these virtues prevail more and more every day among all classes of Citizens. I have heard of and I have seen with pleasure, a remarkable change in the mode of living from what it was a year or two ago, and nothing but the event, which I dreaded would take place soon, has prevented my following the example. Indeed necessity (if this had not happened) would have forced me into the measure as my means are not adequate to the expence at which I have lived since my retirement to what is called private life.

Sincerely wishing you health and happiness, I am ever your warm friend and Affectionate Uncle.

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[2] John Fairfax.
[3] James Bloxam.

To BATTAILE MUSE

Mount Vernon, March 31, 1789.

Sir: I have received your letters of the 17th and 21st Insts. the latter containing a draft on Mr. Josiah Watson for £100 which he informed shall be paid agreeably to the sight mentioned.

I have no objections to the Gentlemen who are proposed to settle the line between Mr. Scott and myself; and I think, with you, that the sooner it is done the better; and when it is accomplished I would wish you to lease my vacant Lots on the best terms you can, if a term less than 21 years will not enable you to rent them to advantage you may do it, for that time. I shall leave some blank leases with my Nephew Major George A. Washington who will be empowered to transact my business during my absence from home, and to whom you will, from time to time remit the Rents which you may collect on my Account. The best information I can give you respecting the line between the Belvoir Estate and me (without having recourse to papers which are put up and which I have not time now to examine) is, that the Road leading from my Mill to Colchester divides us on the hill and descending the hill towards my Mill to a Gully near the spring from thence down the creek to a tree the original corner of the [tract] giving me the whole of the creek. I am etc.[4]

To THOMAS LEWIS

Mount Vernon, March 31, 1789.

Sir: The bearer of this, Mr. Caleb Stone, is desireous of settling on some of my lands on the Kanawa, and will probably carry several others out with him to settle thereon; As I would

[4]From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers.*

wish to hold out such terms to settlers as will induce them to set down upon my lands (provided the terms are not very unreasonable for the Landlord) I will thank you to let him view the land; and if he should incline to fix there, and will bring a number of others to do the like, I would willingly give them such encouragement as may induce them to go out. With great esteem I am etc.[5]

To THOMAS GREEN

(A Rough and incorrect Drought of a letter[6])

Mount Vernon, March 31, 1789.

Thomas Green: I am about to leave my home whether for a length of time, is more than I can tell at present. But be this as it may I expect the agreement to which we have subscribed, will be as strictly complied with on your part as it shall be punctually fulfilled on mine. To enable you to do this, you would do well to keep two things always in remembrance. First that all Bargains are intended, for the Mutual benefit of and are equally binding on both the Parties, and are either binding in all their parts or are of no use at all. If then a man receives [pay] for his labour and he withholds that labour or if he trifles away that time for which he is paid, it is a robbery; and a robbery of the worst kind, because it is not only a fraud but a dishonorable, unmanly and a deceitful fraud; but it is unnecessary to dwell on this because there is no Man so ignorant of the common obligations of Justice, as not to know it; altho' there are hundreds who do not scruple to practice it at the same time that they would think hard, on the other hand if they were to be deprived of their money. The other matter which I advise you to keep always in remembrance is the good name

[5] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers.*
[6] So entered in the "Letter Book" in the *Washington Papers.*

which common policy as well as common honesty, makes it necessary for every workman who wishes to pass thro' life with reputation and to secure employment. Having said thus much by way of exhortation I shall inform you in the most serious and positive terms that I have left strict orders with the Major my Nephew, who is vested with full powers to transact all my business, that if he should find you unfaithful to your engagements, either from the love of liquor from a disposition to be running about, or from proneness to idle when at your work to discard you immediately and to remove your family from their present abode. The sure means to avoid this evil is, first to refrain from drink which is the source of all evil, and the ruin of half the workmen in this Country; and next to avoid bad Company which is the bane of good morals, economy and industry. You have every inducement to do this. Reputation the care and support of a growing family and society which this family affords within your own doors which may not be the case with some of the idle (to say nothing worse of them) characters who may lead you into temptation. Were you to look back, and had the means, either from recollection, or accounts, to ascertain the cost of the liquor you have expended it would astonish you. In the manner this expence is generally incurred that is by getting a little now, a little then, the impropriety of it is not seen, in as much as it passes away without much thought. But view it in the aggregate you will be convinced at once, whether any man who depends upon the labour of his hands not only for his own support, but that of an encreasing family can afford such a proportion of his wages to that article. But the expence is not the worst consequence that attends it for it naturally leads a man into the company of those who encourage dissipation and idleness by which he is led by degrees to the perpetration of acts which may terminate in his Ruin; but supposing this not to happen a disordered

frame, and a body debilitated, renders him unfit (even if his mind was disposed to discharge the duties of his station with honor to himself or fidelity to his employer) from the execution of it. An aching head and trembling limbs which are the inevitable effects of drinking disincline the hands from work; hence begins sloth and that Listlessness which end in idleness; but which are no reasons for withholding that labour for which money is paid.

I have no other inducement for giving you this advice (in this my hour of hurry) but your own good; for the wages and previleges which you have I well know would obtain for me the best workmen in this Country which [without] the charges of such a family as yours; but as it has been a custom with me through life to give a preference to those who have long lived with [me] and my wish to see them do well I have taken the trouble of writing you this letter. If you have gratitude, or a mind capable of reflection, it will make such an impression on it as may be serviceable to you thro life; if not, I have my labour for my pains.

Whilst the Negro Carpenters work at the same spot where you are, they will be subject to your inspection and orders; and at other times if it should be found necessary to put them under yr. care it will be expected that you see that they do their duty. I am &c.[7]

*To JOHN FAIRFAX

Mount Vernon, March 1789.

Mr. John Fairfax: As I am now in the Act of bidding an adieu to my home, for a longer time perhaps than I wish, I will inform you that it is my intention (if your exertions shall appear to deserve it) to make the wages of the year you are now engaged for Fifty pounds instead of Forty although I consider

[7] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers.*

myself under no legal or honorary obligations to do so; my only motives for it being, to encourage you to use every endeavour in your power to promote my interest, under the orders and directions of my Nephew the Major, who will be entrusted with the general management of all my concerns, during my absence.

I have a very good opinion of your honesty, sobriety and industry, and now is the time to give me proofs of your capacity and skill. For however necessary and important the three first are, they will not be sufficient without the latter. I have often remarked to you, and I repeat it once more; that contrivance in the arrangement of business, and a happy nack in having it executed by an observance of method; are the distinguishing characteristics of a good Manager. Indeed they are of such infinite consequence, that no Estate can be well conducted without; for unless the different kinds of business which occupy the labourers of every Plantation, or Farm, can be brought into one view, and seen in time; and a due proportion of work is exacted from the hands, that are to perform it, the different kinds of work will forever be interfering with, and in the way of each other. Nor is there any way to avoid it but by looking forward in time, by judicious arrangemts., and by making those who are to execute it do what is reasonable and proper without suffering so much time to be spent in the house, under pretence of sickness; which is, in many cases, no other than the effect of Night walking and fatiegue.

It is with pain I receive the Saturday Nights reports, for no week passes away without a diminution of my stock. Nor is it less painful to me to see the condition of my work Horses, some dying, and others scarcely able to walk alone. And to these I might add, as a matter of no less concern and astonishment, that it is idle and vain for me to attempt to stall feed any kind of Meats; when I have only my expence for my trouble, without

a joint of meat which is fit to appear at a Gentlemans Table. But I will rest in hope, that all these things will undergo a change for the better.

I am not inclined to your bringing any horse here of your own. Mine are adequate to all the services that my business will require, and more would only add expence without profit; for I need not tell you, that there must be no more running about whilst I am absent than if I was on the spot. Indeed I have too good an opinion of you to suppose it necessary to remind you of this act of justice.

As I have already given you plans of those Plantations which are placed under your immediate care, and have detailed the business of each in the best manner my time and judgment would enable me to do; I shall add nothing more on this head than briefly to observe to you, that it is from the Major, with whom I shall corrispond, that you will receive further directions with respect to such matters as have not been detailed, or concerning any alterations in those which have.

If you have any matrimonial scheme in view, I do not wish to be a let or hindrance to the accomplishment of it, or to your bringing a wife into the family. She may eat with, and in all respects fare as you do. In all things that are reasonable and not inconvenient I am ready and willing to endulge you being your friend.[8]

To WILLIAM HARTSHORNE[9]

Mount Vernon, April 1, 1789.

Sir: As it seems that it will be my unavoidable lot to be again brought into publick life, however contrary to my inclinations, I must prepare myself to meet with many occurences which

[8] From a photostat of the original kindly furnished by Thomas F. Madigan, of New York City.

[9] Of Strawberry Hill, Alexandria, Va.

will be painful and embarrassing; but I can truly say that few events would distress me more than the realizing of the apprehensions of so respectable a body of my fellow Citizens, as the Quakers of Philadelphia, as mentioned in your letter of the 28th. Ulto.[10]

If I must go on to New York, and my wishes and inclinations were consulted on the occasion, they would lead me to proceed in as quiet and peaceable a manner as possible. But, situated as I am at present, and knowing nothing of the intentions of the people respecting my passing through the several towns, more than what the publick papers inform me of, [and these may be conjecture,] I do not see how I can, with any degree of propriety or delicacy, interfere, at this moment, to prevent the ill effects which are feared from an illumination of the City of Philadelphia. Could any way be pointed out to me by which I might ward off the evil dreaded by the Quakers, I would, with peculiar pleasure, take every proper step to prevent it; for altho' I have no agency in these matters, yet nothing would be more painful to me than to be the *innocent* cause of distress or injury to any individual of my Country.

I must beg you to accet of my best thanks and warmest acknowledgments for your kind wishes for my happiness, and believe me to be, with very great esteem etc.[11] [HD. C.]

To ROBERT DICK

Mount Vernon, April 1, 1789.

Sir: In acknowledging the receipt of your obliging favor of the 28 ult. I pray you to be assured that no improper use shall

[10] In the *Washington Papers*. It contained an extract of a letter from Philadelphia which stated that a mob might get beyond control on the occasion of the illumination of the city, as it did, his letter stated, on a former occasion.

[11] In the writing of Tobias Lear. The phrase in brackets is in the writing of Washington.

be made of the important disclosure it contains, and of the sense I have of the confidence reposed in me by the communication.

Your sentiments with respect to the policy which ought to be observed towards the Settlers of the Western Country appear to be exceeding just; and, as the subject merits it, so I have little doubt of its obtaining the serious attention of the new government. With great esteem, I am etc.[12]

*To THE ACTING SECRETARY AT WAR

Mount Vernon, April 1, 1789.

My dear Sir: The Mail of the 30th. brought me your favor of the 23d. By which, and the regular information you have had the goodness to transmit of the state of things in New York, I feel myself very much obliged, and thank you accordingly.

I feel for those Members of the new Congress, who, hitherto, have given an unavailing attendance at the theatre of business. For myself, the delay may be compared to a reprieve; for in confidence I assure *you,* with the *world* it would obtain *little credit,* that my movements to the chair of Government will be accompanied by feelings not unlike those of a culprit who is going to the place of his execution: so unwilling am I, in the evening of a life nearly consumed in public cares, to quit a peaceful abode for an Ocean of difficulties, without that competency of political skill, abilities and inclination which is necessary to manage the helm. I am sensible, that I am embarking the voice of my Countrymen and a good name of my own, on this voyage, but what returns will be made for them, Heaven alone can foretell. Integrity and firmness is all I can promise; these, be the voyage long or short, never shall forsake me although I may be deserted by all men. For of the consolations

[12] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers.*

which are to be derived from these (under any circumstances) the world cannot deprive me. With best wishes for Mrs. Knox, and sincere friendship for yourself etc. [MS.H.S.]

*To JAMES McHENRY

Mount Vernon, April 1, 1789.

Dear Sir: With a heart duly impressed with a sense of the kind invitation you have been pleased to give me to your House I receivd your favor of the 29th. ult, and pray you to accept my thanks for this farther testimony of your polite attention to me; but at the sametime I offer you this tribute of gratitude, I must beg your excuse for not complying with the request. For, however pleasing it might be to me, on any other occasion, to render this proof of my regard for you, I cannot consistently with my ideas of propriety (under the existing circumstances) consent to give so much trouble in a private family.

The party that may possibly attend me, the crowd that always gather on novel occasions, and the compliment of visiting (which some may incline to pay to a new character) all contribute to render a public house the fittest place for scenes of bustle and trouble.

Mrs. Washington joins me in compliments and best wishes, and with sentiments of very great esteem etc.[13]

To WILLIAM MILNOR

Mount Vernon, April 1, 1789.

Sir: I have been duly favored with your letter of the 26th Ultimo, and had before seen a letter from you to Mr. Lund Washington on the same subject. In answer to them both, I

[13] From the *McHenry Photostats* in the Library of Congress.

can say no more to you at present than what I have already invariably said to many, very many others. that if it should be my lot to administer the government, I am resolved to enter upon my office totally free from every engagement whatsoever, and that in all appointments to offices as far as my agency in the matter is required, one *only* rule shall guide me, and that is to consult the fitness of characters and the public good: for however strong my friendships, or however great my inclination towards individuals may be, they will never make me swerve knowingly from this rule. I do not say this as any discouragement to your application, on the contrary it would give me great pleasure to see you placed in a situation agreeable to your wishes and merits. As a step towards it, (your conduct and walk of life having for many years been unknown to me) I would advise you to obtain the most ample testimony of your sobriety, Industry &c. from the wellknown and respectable characters of your City; this would be a proper ground for recommendation to any office to be built on. I am etc.[14]

To JAMES MERCER

Mount Vernon, April 4, 1789.

Sir: I have received your letter of the 25th Ulto. and likewise one from your Brother Colo. J. F. Mercer of the 29th. As nothing can be more disagreeable to me than to put the securities which I have against the Estate of your deceased father John Mercer Esqr. in suit, I have provided he shall fulfill the terms of payment, which he has proposed himself: Namely £200 by the 20th of May; half the remainder by the first of March 1790; and the residue in twelve months from that date. But I must still beg of you my good Sir to use your influence to urge a

[14] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

pointed performance of this proposal, for to be candid, I must confess that I do not rely implicitly upon these promises, having been repeatedly disappointed after these, the most unequivocal assurances from that quarter; and I have moreover, good reason to believe that monies have been applied to other purposes which should, agreeably to promises, have been solely appropriated to the discharge of this debt; I am therefore determined, if there should be any failure in either of the payments mentioned above, to put the securities in suit without delay.

The deed which you mention to have delivered to Major Washington was by him it seems put into the Clerk's Office, but why it has not been sent to me (as I lately requested the Clerk to send *all* my deeds in his Office) I do not know.

I will thank you to get the deed for the Land bought of your brothers Estate from the Clerk of the General Court, which you was so obliging as to offer to do, and to send it to my Nephew Major George A. Washington (who will transact my business in my absence). With very great esteem etc.[15]

To JOHN FRANCIS MERCER

Mount Vernon, April 5, 1789.

Sir: The letter with which you was pleased to favor me, dated the 29th. Ulto. came to hand. For proof of my unwillingness to put the securities I have for the debt due to me for your fathers estate, in suit, I need only appeal to the length of time the money has been due, to the frank and friendly manner in which I have, from time to time, exposed my want of it; and to the returns which have been made me. What passed between us in Philadelphia on this subject will not, I am persuaded, have escaped your recollection; for I was then assured, in unequivocal

[15] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

terms, that as soon as you returned to Annapolis I might expect to receive £200 *cash* which you had by you, or could command in a few hours, as part of a large Sum. Instead of which I need not remind you of the small part of this sum which was paid in the month of March following; and that no further notice was taken of the matter till now.

Having seen, you say, the letter which I wrote to your Brother, it is unnecessary for me to add ought to it, to prove the urgency of my present wants. Notwithstanding, to give one more, and the last proof of my disinclination to put the securities in suit, I will suspend the matter upon the payments which are proposed in your letter of the above date, and which you say I may *absolutely* rely on. Namely, £200 by the 20th. of May, or, as I mean to be pointed, say the first of June next, half the remainder by the first of March 1790, and the residue in twelve Months from that date. This being your own proposal, proceeding from resources, you add, entirely within yourself; and on which I may punctually and faithfully rely. I accede to them; with this assurance, that if there is a failure in either of the payments, I shall not consider myself as bound by this consent. I am etc.[16]

To JOHN MARSHALL

Mount Vernon, April 5, 1789.

Sir: I have duly received your letter of the 26 Ulto. and am sorry to inform you that it is not in my power to furnish the proof which you require of Mr. Armsteads executors having had *regular* notice of the protest. The only person (Colo Fielding Lewis) who could have been adduced to prove that fact, is dead. Upon my going to Congress in 1774 I left that among other debts, with him to collect for me, and there is not the

[16] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

smallest doubt but that he took the necessary and proper steps to recover it; indeed the several payments which were made by the Executors, or their order upon Acct. of the bill sufficiently proves, in my opinion, that proper notice was given them, but if this should not be sufficient I can recollect no *absolute* proof of the fact at this time. I will thank you Sir, if you will, at your leisure inform me what will be the consequence of the dismission of my caveat against Cresap's heirs. I am etc.[17]

To BATTAILE MUSE

Mount Vernon, April 6, 1789.

Sir: In an overhaul, and arrangement of my Papers, I have found an agreement (and Bond for performance of it) with your father; by which he was to convey all the right, title, and interest which he had in a tract of 7,276 Acres of Land on the great Kanhawa, to me. This, I believe was accordingly done; but it runs in my Mind (though Colo Pendleton undertook to see to the recording of it) that the Deed has not been *fully* proved in the General Court. If this be the case, I have no doubt, if anything remains to be performed in order to secure the legal (for the equitable title is already passed) that your father, if living, or you if, he is not, as his heir at Law, will fulfil the agreement by a conveyance of the Land. As part of this Land was obtained by exchange for 2000 Acres I was to have from Colo William Bronaugh in a tract of 7894 Acres adjoining to the above tract of 7276 Acres, and I have also found Colo Bronaughs Bond to me, for making this Conveyance; I should be glad to know whether such conveyance has ever passed from Colo. Bronaugh to your father or his representative, or Devise if dead. If it has not already been done Colo Bronaugh I am persuaded is

[17] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers.*

ready, and willing to do it. If not, his Bond in the penalty of £2000 which I have, will compel him, and the sooner these matters are settled the better. Not knowing whether your father be living, and even in that event having no mode of communication with him, I have taken the liberty of addressing you on the subject, and shall be obliged by your enquiry into the last mentioned matter; with respect to the first, I am now writing to the Clerk of the General Court to be informed in what shape the Conveyance from your father to me lyes, and what steps are necessary for me to pursue if it is not fully proven in the Court. I am etc.[18]

To JOHN BROWN[19]

Mount Vernon, April 6, 1789.

Sir: I would thank you for informing me, when it is convenient to you, whether a Deed of Conveyance from George Muse to me for 3323 Acres part of a large tract of 7276 Acres lying on the Great Kanhawa is fully proved, and admitted to record, and if not, what steps are necessary for me to pursue to effectuate it. In the first case I should be glad to receive the Deed. In the Second your advice will Oblige Sir Yr. etc.[18]

To REVEREND BRYAN FAIRFAX

Mount Vernon, April 6, 1789.

Dear Sir: Sometime ago Mr. Muse informed me by letter, that he expected an order for the delivery to him of the Papers belonging to the Estate[20] in my possession. I answered they were subject to, and ready for that order whenever presented; but as a friend I would advise him to let them remain in your

[18] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.
[19] Clerk of the General Court of Virginia.
[20] The Fairfax estate.

hands and draw out such *only* as he might want. To this he seems perfectly agreeable and I mention the matter before I leave home, that if you incline to take charge of them they will be delivered by my Nephew Majr. George A. Washington at anytime you may call for them.

Old as the date of the enclosed letter is, it has been but lately received. It is my sincere wish that this tedious and irksome business could be brought to a close; but less than ever will it be in my power now, to afford any aid towards the accomplishment of it. Mrs. Bomford must therefore turn her attention to some others as an Attorney, for the purpose of receiving her money, if it ever should be recovered. With best wishes for Mrs. Fairfax and your family, and with sentiments of sincere regard and friendship. I am etc.[21]

To JAMES DUNLOP[22]

Mount Vernon, April 6, 1789.

Sir: Your letter of the 3d has been duly received. The Bond of Messrs. Montgomerie, Wilson, Stewart &c. is in the possession of Mr. Keith of Alexandria, along with other papers belonging to the Estate of the decd. Colo Colvil, and the £600 which you propose to pay, towards the discharge of it may go into the hands of Colo Robert T. Hoe (the attorney of Lord Tankerville and his brother Mr. Bennett, to the last of whom a considerable debt is due).

For whatever *Sterling* Sum Colo Hoe shall pass his rect. the bond will be credited, further than this I dare not go; because as the Bond is for Sterling it can hardly be expected that I should convert the payments into currency at the par of

[21] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.
[22] Of Georgetown, Md. (now District of Columbia).

Exchange, if that par should be below the selling price of Bills; or that I can *pay* as I *receive* unless there is some Law of *this State* that will authorize such an act, of which I have had no opportunity, since the receipt of your letter, to make enquiry.

If after the above sum of £600, and a further sum of one hundred pounds sterling, is paid to Colo Hoe in the manner above mentioned, more money should come into your hands on the above Acct. and advice thereof is given to me, I will, if it should suit at the time, receive a draft on Philadelphia or New York, as proposed. I am, etc.[23]

To THOMAS MONTGOMERIE[24]

Mount Vernon, April 6, 1789.

Dear Sir: Your favor of the 29th Ulto. came duly to hand, since which I have received a letter from Mr. Dunlap informing me that he had about £600 Sterling which he was ready to pay on account of the Bond of Messrs. Montgomerie, Stewart, Wilson &c. but that he had been instructed to do this in Current Money at the *par* of Exchange. The meaning of which I know not unless there is an act of Assembly authorizing of it (of which, having had little to do in matters of this sort of late years, I profess myself ignorant). For I conceive if the Exchange was *below* par this instruction would not have been given and if *above* it, that it was improper; unless, as I have said before there is an operative law of *this* State to that effect equally applicable to Debtor and Creditor. As I am only an agent in this business, and shall pay as fast I receive the money it behoves me to act with circumspection; I have, therefore,

[23] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.
[24] Of Dumfries, Va.

requested Mr. Dunlap to pay the sum he has in hand to Colo Hooe, who is the Attorney of Lord Tankerville and his Brother Mr. Bennett; to the last of whom there is due from the Estate of Colo Colvil £700 Sterling independent of interest; informing him, that for whatever Sterling sum Colo. Hooe shall pass his rect. the Bond shall be credited; for it matters not with me in what manner they settle so I can charge what is receipted for.

In order that there may be a clear understanding of the parties with respect to the payment of interest, on this Bond, I should be glad to know whether it is the determination of the Obligeors to dispute this point, or not? and upon what principle if they do? Between Citizen and Citizen, I am told there is not a single instance in this State, or Maryland that denies it on the contrary, that in the latter some late law has passed expressly recognizing and directing it: In what then does this case differ from the latter? The Assignees of Mr. Semple now the Obligeors in the Bond, are in this case as I conceive his Representatives; was Semple then, in this bargain considered as an alien? or, does others, by becoming paymasters for him, make it a British debt? And even in this supposition, is there any dicision in point, by which interest has been stopped? I ask these questions for information, for the principal object of my enquiry is to know, decidedly, the intention of the Obligeors whether they do, or do not mean to allow it. With very great esteem etc.[25]

To WILLIAM SHOTWELL

Mount Vernon, April 7, 1789.

Sir: To promise what one does not perform is at all times wrong but in the delay of the Grass-seeds with which you

[25] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

undertook to supply me, I have sustained an irrepairable injury in as much as that my whole system of husbandry is deranged by it. £500 would be no compensation for this disappointment. My spring grain with which these seeds were to be sown, are now almost entirely in the ground and a large part of it up. I have therefore but two alternatives to choose from, viz, not to sow them this spring, and thereby to have my whole system entirely deranged or by Scattering them over ground which has got hard have little prospect of their vegitating; or to be exposed in that case with little root to injuries from spring or Summer droughts, or the frosts of Winter. The difference of price between which you *were,* to furnish these Seeds at, and what you say you have *now* given is no object; though at less than the latter I could with certainty have been supplied from Philadelphia by a Gentleman who has never deceived me. And strange it is that at this late period the seed should go to Baltimore when I have been informed two Vessels have arrived at Alexandria from New York within a few days. I am etc.[26]

To RICHARD CURSON

Mount Vernon, April 7, 1789.

Sir: I have just received a letter from Mr. Shotwell of New York, surviving partner of the House of Embree and Shotwell, informing me that he had shipped a quantity of Clover and Timothy seed to Baltimore for me (no vessel offering for Alexandria) and had directed it to you. As soon as it may arrive I will thank you to have it sent round here in any manner that will be most expeditious; for it is necessary that it should get to hand in a *very* short time or the season for sowing will be over and an unspeakable disadvantage accrue to me thereby. I

[26] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers.*

have expected it for more than a month past and have delayed my farming business unreasonably for want of it. I should therefore wish to have it immediately, and am willing to allow any *reasonable* extra expence which may arise from sending it immediately. I am etc.[27]

To DANIEL HINSDALE[28]

Mount Vernon, April 8, 1789.

Sir: I have received your letter of the 23d. Ulto[29] accompanied with the Cloth which the Directors of the Woollen Manufacture of the City of Hartford were so polite as to send me. I must beg you to accept of my best thanks for your agency in forwarding the Cloth to me, and likewise make my warmest acknowledgments acceptable to the Directors for this mark of their politeness and attention. I am extremely pleased to find that the useful manufactures are so much attended to in our Country, and with such a prospect of success. The patterns of Cloth which I have seen, and particularly the price which I have lately received, exceed in fineness and goodness whatever the most sanguine expectation could have looked for at this period. I am fully persuaded that if the spirit of industry economy and patriotism, which seems now beginning to dawn, should exert itself to a proper latitude, that we shall very soon be able to furnish ourselves at least with every necessary and useful fabrick upon better terms than they can be imported without any extraordinary *legal* assistance; I shall always take a peculiar pleasure in giving every proper encouragement in my power to the manufacturers of my Country. I am etc.[27]

[27] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers.*
[28] Agent for the Woolen Manufacture of Hartford, Conn.
[29] In the *Washington Papers.*

To THE ACTING SECRETARY AT WAR

Mount Vernon, April 10, 1789.

My dear Sir: The cloth and Buttons which accompanied your favor of the 30th. Ult, came safe by Colo. Hanson; and really do credit to the manufactures of this Country. As it requires Six more of the large (engraved) button to trim the Coat in the manner I wish it to be,[30] I would thank you, my good Sir, for procuring that number and retaining them in your hands until my arrival at New York.

Not to contemplate (though it is a serious object) the loss which you say the General Government will sustain in the article of Impost, the stupor, or listlessness with which our public measures seem to be pervaded, is, to me, matter of deep regret. Indeed it has so strange an appearance that I cannot but wonder how men who sollicit public confidence or who are even prevailed upon to accept of it can reconcile such conduct with their own feelings of propriety.

The delay is inauspicious to say the best of it, and the World must condemn it.

With sentiments of the sincerest friendship, I am etc.

PS. The advices by the Mail of this Evening will, surely, inform us of a Quoram in both Houses of Congress. [MS. H. S.]

To HECTOR ST. JOHN DE CRÈVECŒUR

Mount Vernon, April 10, 1789.

Sir: I had the honor to receive, by the last post, your very polite letter, and must beg you to accept my warmest acknowl-

[30] This was the suit, of plain brown cloth made by a manufactory in the vicinity of Boston, which Washington wore when inaugurated the first President of the United States.

edgments for the felicitations and good wishes which were contained in it.

A Combination of circumstances and events seems to have rendered my embarking again on the Ocean of public affairs inevitable. How opposite this is to my own desires and inclinations I need not say. Those who know me are, I trust, convinced of it. For the rectitude of my intentions I appeal to the great Searcher of Hearts; and if I have any knowledge of myself I can declare that no prospects however flattering, no personal advantage however great, no desire of fame however easily it might be acquired, could induce me to quit the private walks of life at my age and in my situation. But if by any exertion or services of mine my Country can be benefitted I shall feel more amply compensated for the sacrifices which I make than I possibly can be by any other means.

I am very happy to find, by the translations which you were so polite as to send me, that there is so essential a change in the political opinions of the French Nation; indeed the American Revolution, or the peculiar light of the age seems to have opened the eyes of almost every nation in Europe, and a spirit of equal liberty appears fast to be gaining ground everywhere, which must afford satisfaction to every friend of mankind. I am &c.[31]

To JOHN DANDRIDGE

Mount Vernon, April 11, 1789.

Dear Sir: I have duly received your letter of the 2d Instt. and in replying to it, again assure you, with great sincerity, that whatever my own wants of money may be if you think more than £800 can (by waiting till times get a little better) be had for your Land in Gloucester County it will be perfectly agreeable

[31] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

to me to let the debt due to me from your fathers Estate remain on its present footing. For I do not wish you to part from the land for one shilling less than you think it is worth, nor that you should put the estate to the least inconvenience to raise money for me by any other means. If after making this declaration which you may rely on is sincere, you are still more disposed to part with the land at the price mentioned in Colo Lewis's letter than to keep it, or to sell it on credit I can, and shall rely on you to make me a good and secure title to it and for having it recorded in the General Court. The doing of which will exonerate the Estate from so much of the debt due from it to me.

Your Aunt, Sister, and others of the family are all well, and join me in every good wish for your Mother &ca. with very great regard etc.[32]

To JOHN MARSHALL

Mount Vernon, April 11, 1789.

Sir: I have duly received your letter of the 8 Instt. From a bad memory, I can recollect nothing of the circumstances relating to the payment of the money by Colo Pendleton more than what is stated in my books. The Acct. with the Executors of Mr. Armstead was transmitted to you, and I find the entry of the Cash paid by Colo Pendleton to stand thus on my *Cash* Acct. 1765 May 10th. To Cash of Mr. Edmd. Pendleton on Acct. of Armsteads Executrs. protest, £100 Virginia Currency, and the payment made by Mr. Montgomerie was on the same acct. I do not know of any act by which I have discharged the Executors and taken Mr. Armsteads for my debtor; if any such thing has been done the Executors will certainly be able to shew it.

[32]From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

I have been lately informed that Mrs. Armsteads sons are dead and have left their families not in very good circumstances. If this is the case, and the payment of the debt due to me would distress them I must beg that you will not proceed any further in the matter, for however pressing my want of money is at present I had much rather lose the debt than that the widow and fatherless should suffer by my recovering it. You will please to accept of my thanks for your attention to the letter which I wrote to your father. And believe me to be, with very great esteem etc.[33]

To DANIEL BRODHEAD

Mount Vernon, April 12, 1789.

Sir: Your letter of the 4th instant came duly to hand. It would be an arduous, if not an impracticable, task for me to travel over the ground of services rendered by *all* the Officers of the American Army (for no line of discrimination, when the business was once begun, could be drawn) in order to form certificates that would apply to every character, and do equal justice to merit on the one hand, and to candor on the other. Nor indeed would my memory, if it is on this I am to depend, enable me to do it. For these reasons, and because (viewing myself in the character of a private citizen) I have had doubts of the propriety of the measure, few, very few certificates have passed from me since my return to private life, and these wholly, I believe, [to those who] might have greater occasion for them than those who remained at home, where their conduct was known, and where their commissions would be sufficient evidence to posterity of the rank they sustained in the accomplishment of the revolution. I am etc.[33]

[33] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

To ARCHIBALD MONCREIFF

Mount Vernon, April 13, 1789.

Sir: I have in my possession a bill of Exchange for 333 24/72 Dollars drawn upon you by Mr. Donald of Richmond in favor of David Stuart Esqr. payable five days after Sight, and will thank you to have the money ready for me to receive when I pass through Baltimore. I am etc.[34]

To VINCENT GRAY

Mount Vernon, April 13, 1789.

Sir: I duly received your letter of the 8th. Inst. and must inform you that it is not at present in my power to accept of any offers of services which may be made me, not consistant with the line of conduct which I have hitherto pursued, and am determined to persist in, to make any promises of appointments. If I should go into public life, I shall be better able, upon my entrance therein, to judge of such arrangements as may be necessary to be made in my family, than I am now; and shall then endeavour to get such persons as will best fill their particular departments; but you will give me leave to observe the office of Steward which you are desireous of filling will [*sic*] equal *experience* in that line as a recommendation for the person, who applies for it. I am etc.[34]

* To JOHN LANGDON[35]

Mount Vernon, April 14, 1789.

Sir: I had the honor to receive your Official communication by the hand of Mr Secretary Thompson, about one O'Clock this

[34] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

[35] Senator from New Hampshire and president *pro tempore* of the Senate for the sole purpose of receiving, counting, and announcing the result of the electoral vote of the country in the first election of a President and Vice President of the United States of America.

day. Having concluded to obey the important and flattering call of my Country, and having been impressed with an idea of the expediency of my being with Congress at as early a period as possible; I propose to commence my journey on thursday morning which will be the day after tomorrow. I have the honor etc.[36]

To CHARLES THOMSON[37]

[Mount Vernon, April 14, 1789.]

Sir: I have been accustomed to pay so much respect to the opinion of my fellow-citizens, that the knowledge of their having given their unanimous suffrages in my favor, scarcely leaves me the alternative for an option. I can not, I believe, give a greater evidence of my sensibility of the honor which they have done me than by accepting the appointment.

I am so much affected by this fresh proof of my Country's Esteem and Confidence that silence can best explain my gratitude. While I realize the arduous nature of the Task which is imposed upon me, and feel my own inability to perform it, I wish however that there may not be reason for regretting the Choice, for indeed all I can promise is only to accomplish that which can be done by an honest zeal.

Upon considering how long a time some of the Gentlemen of both Houses of Congress have been at New York, how anxiously desirous they must be to proceed to business, and how deeply the public mind appears to be impressed with the necessity of doing it speedily, I can not find myself at liberty to delay

[36] From a photograph of the original kindly furnished by L. C. Handy, of Washington, D. C.

[37] Still Secretary to the Continental Congress. Thomson had been honored by the First Congress of the United States with the duty of conveying to Washington, at Mount Vernon, the official notice of his election as the first President of the United States. He reached Mount Vernon a little after noon on April 14, and delivered to Washington, standing in the banquet hall of the mansion, the letter of John Langdon of April 6, announcing "your unanimous election." Thomson's address on this occasion, and Langdon's letter, are in the *Washington Papers*.

my journey. I shall therefore be in readiness to set out the day after tomorrow[38] and shall be happy in the pleasure of your company; for you will permit me to say that it is a peculiar gratification to have received the communication from you.[39]

To THE MAYOR, CORPORATION, AND CITIZENS OF ALEXANDRIA

[Alexandria, April 16, 1789.]

Gentlemen: Although I ought not to conceal, yet I cannot describe, the painful emotions which I felt in being called upon to determine whether I would accept or refuse the Presidency of the United States.

The unanimity of the choice, the opinion of my friends, communicated from different parts of Europe, as well as of America, the apparent wish of those, who were not altogether satisfied with the Constitution in its present form, and an ardent desire on my own part, to be instrumental in conciliating the good will of my countrymen towards each other have induced an acceptance.

Those, who have known me best (and you, my fellow citizens, are from your situation, in that number) know better than any others that my love of retirement is so great, that no earthly consideration, short of a conviction of duty, could have prevailed upon me to depart from my resolution, "*never more to take any share in transactions of a public nature.*" For, at my age, and in my circumstances, what possible advantages could I propose to myself, from embarking again on the tempestuous and uncertain ocean of public-life?

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[38] Washington left Mount Vernon for New York about 10 a. m. on April 16, accompanied by Charles Thomson and David Humphreys.

[39] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

I do not feel myself under the necessity of making public declarations, in order to convince you, Gentlemen, of my attachment to yourselves, and regard for your interests. The whole tenor of my life has been open to your inspection; and my past actions, rather than my present declarations, must be the pledge of my future conduct.

In the mean time I thank you most sincerely for the expressions of kindness contained in your valedictory address. It is true, just after having bade adieu to my domestic connexions, this tender proof of your friendship is but too well calculated still farther to awaken my sensibility, and encrease my regret at parting from the enjoyments of private life.

All that now remains for me is to commit myself and you to the protection of that beneficent Being, who, on a former occasion has happly brought us together, after a long and distressing separation. Perhaps the same gracious Providence will again indulge us with the same heartfelt felicity. But words, my fellow-citizens, fail me: *Unutterable sensations must then be left to more expressive silence: while, from an aching heart, I bid you all, my affectionate friends and kind neighbours, farewell!* [40]

*To THE CITIZENS OF BALTIMORE

[April 17, 1789.]

Gentlemen: The tokens of regard and affection, which I have often received from the Citizens of this Town, were always acceptable; because, I believed them, always sincere. Be

[40] In the writing of William Jackson. From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers.*

The addresses to Washington, and his answers thereto, are entered in a distinct series of three volumes of the "Letter Book." In most cases the addresses to Washington are entered in full, along with his answers.

pleased to receive my best acknowledgments for the renewal of them, on the present occasion.

If the affectionate partiality of my fellow Citizens has prompted them to ascribe to greater effects to my conduct and character, than were justly due; I trust, the indulgent sentiment on their part, will not produce an overweening presumption on mine.

I cannot now, Gentlemen, resist my feelings so much, as to withhold the communication of my ideas, respecting the actual situation and prospect of our national affairs. It appears to me, that little more than common sense and common honesty, in the transactions of the community at large, would be necessary to make us a great and a happy Nation. For if the general Government, lately adopted, shall be arranged and administered in such a manner as to acquire the full confidence of the American People, I sincerely believe, they will have greater advantages, from their Natural, moral and political circumstances, for public felicity, than any other People ever possessed.

In the contemplation of those advantages, now soon to be realized, I have reconciled myself to the sacrifice of my fondest wishes, so far as to enter again upon the stage of Public life. I know the delicate nature of the duties incident to the part which I am called to perform; and I feel my incompetence, without the singular assistance of Providence to discharge them in a satisfactory manner. But having undertaken the task, from a sense of duty, no fear of encountering difficulties and no dread of losing popularity, shall ever deter me from pursuing what I conceive to be the true interests of my Country.

[MD. H. S.]

Washington arrived at the Fountain Inn in Baltimore on the afternoon of April 17. The address of the citizens was delivered to him, and answered about 6 o'clock p. m. He left Baltimore about 5 a. m., April 18, and reached Wilmington, Del.,

*To JOHN LANGDON

Philadelphia, April 20, 1789.

Gentlemen: Upon my alighting in this City[41] I received your communication of the 17th.[42] with the resolutions of the two Houses which accompanied it and in answer thereto beg leave to inform you that knowing how anxious both houses must be to proceed to business I shall continue my journey with as much dispatch as possible. Tomorrow evening I purpose to be at Trenton, the night following at Brunswick and hope to have the pleasure of meeting you at Elizabeth town point on Thursday at 12 oclock.

With the greatest respect and considn. I have the Honr. etc.[43]

April 19, where he received and answered an address from the burgesses and common council of the borough, and also one from the Delaware Society for Promoting Domestic Manufactures. Both these addresses and answers are in the "Letter Book" in the *Washington Papers.*

[41]Washington reached Philadelphia April 20, about 1 p. m., and at 3 p. m. he was entertained at a public banquet at the City Tavern. He lodged at the house of Robert Morris and the next morning (April 21) left for Trenton. Previous to his departure he received (the order in which these were delivered is not known) complimentary addresses from the president and executive council of Pennsylvania; the judges of the Supreme Court; the mayor, recorder, aldermen, and common council of Philadelphia; the president and faculty of the University of Pennsylvania; the Pennsylvania State Society of the Cincinnati (to which his reply, in part, was: "If by that attention I may still be so fortunate as to continue to possess the affectionate regard of my fellow-citizens, and particularly of that Body of which you are the Representatives, it will be no small addition to my happiness."); and the ministers, church wardens, and vestrymen of the German Lutheran congregation in and near Philadelphia. To the judges of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania he wrote, in part: "although it was with the utmost difficulty I could prevail upon myself to enter again on the Stage of Public Life, yet, since I have done it, the unequivocal encouragement of support, given by the most respectable citizens and Magistrates, will tend very much to remove my embarrassments, and, I hope to open the way to a prosperous Administration." All of these addresses, with the answers, are recorded by William Jackson in the "Letter Book" in the *Washington Papers.*

[42]Langdon's letter, which is also signed by the other members of the committee, and the resolves of Apr. 15, 1789, are not now found in the *Washington Papers,* but are printed in Richardson's *Messages and Papers of the Presidents* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1896), vol. 1, pp. 45 and 46.

[43]From a facsimile in the *Magazine of American History,* vol. 21, p. 275.

To THE PRESIDENT OF THE STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA[44]

City-Tavern, Tuesday Morning, April 21, 1789.

General Washington presents his compliments to the President of the State, and requests his Excellency to communicate the General's best thanks to the Officers and Gentlemen of the several Corps who did him the honor to form his escort to Philadelphia. General Washington having made his arrangements to be at the place of embarkation for New York, at a particular hour, will find himself under the necessity of leaving this City about ten o'clock. But, as the weather is likely to prove unfavorable, he must absolutely insist that the military Gentlemen of Philadelphia will not attend him in the manner they had proposed. He is so perfectly satisfied with their good intentions, that it will be impossible for them, by taking any unnecessary trouble, to make any addition to the proofs of their attachment, or the motives of his gratitude.[45]

*To THE LADIES OF TRENTON WHO ASSEMBLED AT THE TRIUMPHAL ARCH[46]

Trenton, April 21, 1789.

General Washington cannot leave this place without expressing his acknowledgments, to the Matrons and Young Ladies who received him in so Novel and grateful a manner at the Triumphal Arch in Trenton, for the exquisite sensation he experienced in that affecting moment. The astonishing contrast between his former and actual situation at the same spot, the

[44] Thomas Mifflin.

[45] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

[46] Part of the inscription reads: "Erected by them on the Bridge, which extends across the Creek." An unknown hand has inserted the word "Assanpink" before the word "Creek."

elegant taste with which it was adorned for the present occasion, and the innocent appearance of the *white-robed Choir* who met him with the gratulatory song,[47] have made such impressions on his remembrance, as, he assures them, will never be effaced.[48]

*THE FIRST INAUGURAL ADDRESS

[April 30, 1789.]

Fellow Citizens of the Senate and the House of Representatives.

Among the vicissitudes incident to life, no event could have filled me with greater anxieties than that of which the notifica-

[47] Washington has entered on pp. 17–18 of this volume of the "Letter Book" the words of the song which was sung by the "*white robed Choir,*" and also a copy of his acknowledgment to the ladies, which is the only entry in the volume in his writing.

[48] From the original in the Trenton Public Library. For a photostat of this, and Jane Ewing's description, I am indebted to Dr. Carlos E. Godfrey, director of New Jersey Public Record Office.

"The Triumphal Arch supported by thirteen Pillars adorned with wreaths of flowers the form was thus [a rough diagram of arch and pillars, entwined with flowers. The inscription on the arch reads: 'The Protector of the Mothers will also protect their Daughters.' Below the center of the arch was hung a small square on which was the date December 26, 1776] the writing large letters painted yellow on white; the pillars on one side 6 the other 7 observe all the Scollops is wreaths of laurel and pillars flowers. the Ladies was rang'd in a line from the arch along the Bridge and thirteen Girls dress't in white with Baskets of flowers they sung the inclos'd song and when they come these words Build and strew thy way with flowers they skaterd them round that is the flowers out of their Baskets round his horses feet. he sat on his horse while they sung and then made them a low Bow say'd the Ladies had done them a very great honour requested them to except his most greateful thanks, the most respectable Carecters met him at the ferry, the Infantry and Dragoons they made a grand apearance he stayd all night at Vandigrifts Mr. Ewing and a few others spent the Evening with him and next morning at Sunrise accompanied him 8 miles out of town."—*Jane Ewing to James Hunter, jr.,* at Philadelphia, Apr. 23, 1789. The original is in the Public Record Office at Trenton, N. J.

Marshall's account gives the inscription as: "The Defender of the Mothers will be the Protector of the Daughters," and says the dates of the two memorable events were on a dome or cupola of flowers and evergreens above the arch. Sparks, quoting from Marshall, v. 12, p. 149–50, gives the verses sung by the young ladies. Joseph Vandegrift's tavern was on North Warren Street. Jane Ewing was the wife of Maskell Ewing, and daughter of James Hunter, of Philadelphia.

Washington reached Princeton April 21, where he received and answered an address from the president and faculty of the College of New Jersey and the inhabitants. He reached New Brunswick April 22, and lodged at Woodbridge; and arrived at Bridgetown April 23. A specially built barge, rowed by 13 pilots, with Capt. Thomas Randall acting as coxswain, conveyed him across New York bay to the city, which he

tion was transmitted by your order, and received on the fourteenth day of the present month. On the one hand, I was summoned by my Country, whose voice I can never hear but with veneration and love, from a retreat which I had chosen with the fondest predilection, and, in my flattering hopes, with an immutable decision, as the asylum of my declining years: a retreat which was rendered every day more necessary as well as more dear to me, by the addition of habit to inclination, and of frequent interruptions in my health to the gradual waste committed on it by time. On the other hand, the magnitude and difficulty of the trust to which the voice of my Country called me, being sufficient to awaken in the wisest and most experienced of her citizens, a distrustful scrutiny into his qualifications, could not but overwhelm with dispondence, one, who, inheriting inferior endowments from nature and unpractised in the duties of civil administration, ought to be peculiarly conscious of his own deficencies. In this conflict of emotions, all I dare aver, is, that it has been my faithful study to collect my duty from a just appreciation of every circumstance, by which it might be affected. All I dare hope, is, that, if in executing this task I have been too much swayed by a grateful remembrance of former instances, or by an affectionate sensibility to this transcendent proof, of the confidence of my fellow-citizens; and have thence too little consulted my incapacity as well as disinclination for the weighty and untried cares before me; my *error* will be palliated by the motives which misled me, and its consequences be judged by my Country, with some share of the partiality in which they originated.

Such being the impressions under which I have, in obedience to the public summons, repaired to the present station; it would

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reached about 2 o'clock p. m. This barge was afterwards presented to the President. (The letter from a number of gentlemen of New York City to Captain Randall, Apr. 20, 1789, is in the *Washington Papers.*)

be peculiarly improper to omit in this first official Act, my fervent supplications to that Almighty Being who rules over the Universe, who presides in the Councils of Nations, and whose providential aids can supply every human defect, that his benediction may consecrate to the liberties and happiness of the People of the United States, a Government instituted by themselves for these essential purposes: and may enable every instrument employed in its administration to execute with success, the functions allotted to his charge. In tendering this homage to the Great Author of every public and private good, I assure myself that it expresses your sentiments not less than my own; nor those of my fellow-citizens at large, less than either. No People can be bound to acknowledge and adore the invisible hand, which conducts the Affairs of men more than the People of the United States. Every step, by which they have advanced to the character of an independent nation, seems to have been distinguished by some token of providential agency. And in the important revolution just accomplished in the system of their United Government, the tranquil deliberations and voluntary consent of so many distinct communities, from which the event has resulted, cannot be compared with the means by which most Governments have been established, without some return of pious gratitude along with an humble anticipation of the future blessings which the past seem to presage. These reflections, arising out of the present crisis, have forced themselves too strongly on my mind to be suppressed. You will join with me I trust in thinking, that there are none under the influence of which, the proceedings of a new and free Government can more auspiciously commence.

By the article establishing the Executive Department, it is made the duty of the President "to recommend to your consideration, such measures as he shall judge necessary and

expedient." The circumstances under which I now meet you, will acquit me from entering into that subject, farther than to refer to the Great Constitutional Charter under which you are assembled; and which, in defining your powers, designates the objects to which your attention is to be given. It will be more consistent with those circumstances, and far more congenial with the feelings which actuate me, to substitute, in place of a recommendation of particular measures, the tribute that is due to the talents, the rectitude, and the patriotism which adorn the characters selected to devise and adopt them. In these honorable qualifications, I behold the surest pledges, that as on one side, no local prejudices, or attachments; no seperate views, nor party animosities, will misdirect the comprehensive and equal eye which ought to watch over this great assemblage of communities and interests: so, on another, that the foundations of our National policy will be laid in the pure and immutable principles of private morality; and the pre-eminence of a free Government, be exemplified by all the attributes which can win the affections of its Citizens, and command the respect of the world.

I dwell on this prospect with every satisfaction which an ardent love for my Country can inspire: since there is no truth more thoroughly established, than that there exists in the œconomy and course of nature, an indissoluble union between virtue and happiness, between duty and advantage, between the genuine maxims of an honest and magnanimous policy, and the solid rewards of public prosperity and felicity: Since we ought to be no less persuaded that the propitious smiles of Heaven, can never be expected on a nation that disregards the eternal rules of order and right, which Heaven itself has ordained: And since the preservation of the sacred fire of liberty, and the destiny of the Republican model of Government, are justly

considered as *deeply,* perhaps as *finally* staked, on the experiment entrusted to the hands of the American people.

Besides the ordinary objects submitted to your care, it will remain with your judgment to decide, how far an exercise of the occasional power delegated by the Fifth article of the Constitution is rendered expedient at the present juncture by the nature of objections which have been urged against the System, or by the degree of inquietude which has given birth to them. Instead of undertaking particular recommendations on this subject, in which I could be guided by no lights derived from official opportunities, I shall again give way to my entire confidence in your discernment and pursuit of the public good: For I assure myself that whilst you carefully avoid every alteration which might endanger the benefits of an United and effective Government, or which ought to await the future lessons of experience; a reverence for the characteristic rights of freemen, and a regard for the public harmony, will sufficiently influence your deliberations on the question how far the former can be more impregnably fortified, or the latter be safely and advantageously promoted.

To the preceeding observations I have one to add, which will be most properly addressed to the House of Representatives. It concerns myself, and will therefore be as brief as possible. When I was first honoured with a call into the Service of my Country, then on the eve of an arduous struggle for its liberties, the light in which I contemplated my duty required that I should renounce every pecuniary compensation. From this resolution I have in no instance departed. And being still under the impressions which produced it, I must decline as inapplicable to myself, any share in the personal emoluments, which may be indispensably included in a permanent provision for the Executive Department; and must accordingly pray that

the pecuniary estimates for the Station in which I am placed, may, during my continuance in it, be limited to such actual expenditures as the public good may be thought to require.[49]

Having thus imparted to you my sentiments, as they have been awakened by the occasion which brings us together, I shall take my present leave; but not without resorting once more to the benign parent of the human race, in humble supplication that since he has been pleased to favour the American people, with opportunities for deliberating in perfect tranquility, and dispositions for deciding with unparellelled unanimity on a form of Government, for the security of their Union, and the advancement of their happiness; so his divine blessing may be equally *conspicuous* in the enlarged views, the temperate consultations, and the wise measures on which the success of this Government must depend.[50]

* [PROPOSED ADDRESS TO CONGRESS][51]

[April ?, 1789.]

. . . myself with the idea it was all that would ever be expected at my hand. But in this I was disappointed. The Legis-

[49] This request was, after consideration, seen to establish an awkward precedent, and Congress fixed the compensation of the President at $25,000 a year. Washington drew only $196,121 from the Treasury during his two terms, but the $3,879, which is the difference between $200,000 and his warrants, is almost exactly the salary for the 56 or 57 days which his first administration lacked of being 4 full years. The curious may be further satisfied by the following figures taken from the Government's statement of warrants drawn for the use of the President: From Sept. 26, 1789, to Dec. 27, 1791, $72,150; from Jan. 3, 1792, to Dec. 19, 1792, $22,500; Jan. 4 to Dec. 27, 1793, $27,500; Mar. 17 to Dec. 11, 1794, $24,000; Jan. 1 to Dec. 22, 1795, $19,500; Jan. 5 to Dec. 21, 1796, $23,596; Jan. 13 to Mar. 7, 1797, $6,875. In all, $196,121.

[50] From the original in the files of the United States Senate, in the National Archives, Washington, D. C. (*See* Washington's letter to James Madison, May 5, 1789, *post.*)

[51] This document now exists in fragmentary form only. The first pages are missing. Apparently intended as Washington's inaugural address, or as his first annual message to Congress, it was discarded and not used. Jared Sparks, finding that the document had no official existence, did as he had done in other instances (specifically the Washington "Diaries"), split up the document and presented pages and cuttings of pages to

lature of Virginia in opposition to my express desire signified in the clearest terms to the Governor of that State, appointed me a Delegate to the federal Convention. Never was my embarrassment or hesitation more extreme or dis. . . .

[5] . . . At the beginning of the late War with Great Britain, when we thought ourselves justifiable in resisting to blood, is was known to those best acquainted with the different condition of the combatants and the probable cost of the prize in dispute, that the expence in comparison with our circumstances as Colonists must be enormous, the struggle protracted, dubious and severe. It was known that the resources of Britain were, in a manner, inexhaustible, that her fleets covered the Ocean, and that her troops had harvested laurels in every quarter of the globe. Not then organised as a nation, or known as a people upon the earth, we had no preparation. Money, the nerve of War, was wanting. The Sword was to be forged on the Anvil of necessity: the treasury to be created from nothing. If we had a secret resource of a nature unknown to our enemy, it was in the unconquerable resolution of our Citizens, the conscious rectitude of our cause, and a confident trust that we should not be forsaken by Heaven. The people willingly [6] offered themselves to the battle; but the means of Arming, clothing and subsisting them; as well as of procuring the implements of hostility were only to be found in anticipation of our future wealth. Paper bills of credit were emitted: Monies borrowed for the

his friends. The complete manuscript was more than 62 pages in length, Washington having numbered each page himself. It was most carefully written and evidently was considered of importance at the time it was inscribed. Some of the widely separated pages bear Sparks's initialed statement that this is Washington's handwriting, and on the margin of page 33 Sparks has written "Washington's handwriting, but not his composition. J. S." Comment is needless. It is extremely doubtful that the complete document can ever be recovered. Those pages that are numbered have been placed in sequence and the unnumbered fragments have been tentatively placed. Washington's numbering is inserted at the beginning of the page texts in brackets, for the sake of record. Photostats of all the known fragments (with the exception noted, pp. 57–58) are in the "Washington Photostats" in the Library of Congress.

most pressing emergencies: and our brave trps. in the field unpaid for their Services. In this manner, Peace, attended with every circumstance that could gratify our reasonable desires, or even inflate us with ideas of national importance, was at length obtained. But a load of debt was left upon us. The fluctuations of and speculations in our paper currency, had, but in too many instances, occasioned vague ideas of property, generated licencious appetites and corrupted the morals of men. To these immediate consequences of a fluctuating medium of commerce, may be joined a tide of circumstances that flowed together from sources mostly opened during and after the War. The ravage of farms, the conflagration of towns, the diminution . . .

. . . reputation and a decent respect for the sentiments of others, require that something should be said by way of apology for my . . .[52]

. . . tressing. By letters from some of the wisest and best men in almost every quarter of the Continent, I was advised, that it was my indispensable duty to attend, and that, in the deplorable condition to which our affairs were reduced, my refusal would be considered a desertion of . . .

. . . rest, neither life or reputation has been accounted dear in my sight. And, from the bottom of my Soul, I know, that my motives on no former occasion were more innocent than in the present instance. At my time of life and in my situation I will not suppose that many moments need . . .

[15] . . . situation could be so agreeable to me as the condition of a private citizen. I solemnly assert and appeal to the searcher of hearts to witness the truth of it, that my leaving home to take upon myself the execution of this Office was the greatest personal sa . . .[53]

[52] From a photostat of the original in the New York Public Library.

[53] From a photostat of the original kindly furnished by Franklin H. Hooper, of New York City.

[16] . . . to prove that I have prematurely grown old in the Service of my Country. For in truth, I have now arrived at that sober age, when, aside of any extraordinary circumstances to deter me from encountering new fatigues, and when, without having met with any par . . .

[27] . . . set up my judgment as the standard of perfection? And shall I arrogantly pronounce that whosoever differs from me, must discern the subject through a distorting medium, or be influenced by some nefarious design? The mind is so formed in different persons as to contemplate the same object in different points of view. Hence originates the difference on questions of the greatest import, both human and divine. In all Institutions of the former kind, great allowances are doubtless to be made for the fallibility and imperfection of their authors. Although the agency I had informing this system, and the high opinion I entertained of my Colleagues for their ability and integrity may have tended to warp my judgment in its favour; yet I will not pretend to say that it appears absolutely perfect to me, or that there may not be many faults which have escaped my discernment. I will only say, that, during and since the Session of the Convention, I have attentively heard and read every [28] oral and printed information of both sides of the question that could readily be procured. This long and laborious investigation, in which I endeavoured as far as the frailty of nature would permit to act with candour has resulted in a fixed belief that this Constitution, is really in its formation a government of the people; that is to say, a government in which all power is derived from, and at stated periods reverts to them, and that, in its operation, it is purely, a government of Laws made and executed by the fair substitutes of the people alone. The election of the differt. branches of Congress by the Freemen, either directly or indirectly is the pivot on which

turns the first Wheel of the government; a Wheel which communicates motion to all the rest. At the sametime the exercise of this right of election seems to be so regulated as to afford less opportunity for corruption and influence; and more for stability and system than has usually been incident to popular governments. Nor can the members of Congress exempt themselves from the consequences of[54]
[29] of any unjust and tyranical acts which they may impose upon others. For in a short time they[55] will mingle with the mass of the people. Their interests must therefore be the same, and their feelings in sympathy with those of their Constituents. Besides their re-election must always depend upon the good reputation which they shall have maintained in the judgment of their fellow citizens. Hence I have been induced to conclude that this government must be less obnoxious to well-founded objections than most which have existed in the World. And in that opinion I am confirmed on three accounts: *first,* because every government ought to be possessed of power adequate to the purposes for which it was instituted; Secondly, because no other or greater powers appear to me to be delegated to this government than are essential to accomplish the objects for which it was instituted, to wit, the safety and happiness of the governed; and thirdly because it is clear to my conception that no governmt. [30] before introduced among mankind ever contained so many checks and such efficatious restraints to prevent it from degenerating into any species of oppression. It is unnecessary to be insisted upon, because it is well known, that the impotence of Congress under the former confederation, and the inexpediency of trusting more ample prerogatives to a single Body, gave birth to the different branches which con-

[54] The original is in the possession of Frederick S. Peck, of Barrington, R. I.
[55] Members of Congress.

stitute the present general government. Convinced as I am that the balances arising from the distribution of the Legislative, Executive, and Judicial powers are the best that have been instituted; I presume now to assert that better may not still be devised. On the article of proposed amendments I shall say a few words in another place. But if it was a point acknowledged on all parts that the late federal government could not have existed much longer; if without some speedy remedy a dissolution of the Union must have ensued; if without adhering to the Union we . . .[56]

[33] . . . on the one hand and an unalterable habit of error on the other, are points in policy equally desirable; though, I believe, a power to effect them never before existed. Whether the Constitutional door that is opened for amendments in ours, be not the wisest and apparently the happiest expedient that has ever been suggested by human prudence I leave to every unprejudiced mind to determine.

Under these circumstances I conclude it has been the part of wisdom to ad[vise] it. I pretend to no unusual foresight into futurity, and therefore cannot undertake to decide, with certainty, what may be its ultimate fate. If a promised good should terminate in an unexpected evil, it would not be a solitary example of disappointment in this mutable state of existence. If the blessings of Heaven showered thick around us should be spilled on the ground or converted to curses, through the fault of those for whom they were intended, it would not be the first instance of folly [34] or perverseness in short-sighted mortals. The blessed Religion revealed in the word of God will remain an eternal and awful monument to prove that the best Institutions may be abused by human depravity; and that they may even, in some instances be made subservient to the vilest of

[56] The original is in the Morgan Library.

purposes. Should, hereafter, those who are intrusted with the management of this government, incited by the lust of power and prompted by the Supineness or venality of their Constituents, overleap the known barriers of this Constitution and violate the unalienable rights of humanity: it will only serve to shew, that no compact among men (however provident in its construction and sacred in its ratification) can be pronounced everlasting and inviolable, and if I may so express myself, that no Wall of words, that no mound of parchmt. can be so formed as to stand against the sweeping torrent of boundless ambition on the one side, aided by the sapping current of corrupted morals on the other. But . . .[57]

. . . It might naturally be supposed that I should not silently pass by the subject of our defence. After excepting the unprovoked hostility committed against us by one of the Powers of Barbary, we are now at peace with all the Nations of the globe. Seperated as we are from them, by intervening Oceans, an exemption from the burden of maintaining numerous fleets and Armies must ever be considered as a singular felicity in our National lot. It will be in our choice to train our youths to such industrious and hardy professions as that they may grow into an unconquerable force, with out our being obliged to draw unprofitable Drones from the hive of Industry. As our people have a natural genius for Naval affairs and as our Materials for Navigation are ample; if we give due encouragement to the fisheries and the carrying trade; we shall possess such a nursery of Seamen and such skill in maratime operations as to enable us to create a Navy almost in a moment. But it will be wise to anticipate events and to lay a foundation in time. Whenever the circumstances will permit, a grand provision of warlike stores, arsenals and dock-yards ought to be made

[57] The original is in the Massachusetts Historical Society.

As to any invasion that might be meditated by foreigners against us on the land, I will only say, that, if the mighty Nation with which we lately contended could not bring us under the yoke, no nation on the face of the earth can ever effect it; while we shall remain United and faithful to ourselves. A well organized Militia would constitute a strong defence; of course, your most serious attention will be turned to such an establishment. In your recess, it will give me pleasure, by making such reviews, as opportunities may allow, to attempt to revive the antient Military spirit. During the present impoverished state of our Finances I would not wish to see any expence incurred by augmenting our regular . . .[58]

[45] . . . ever the circumstances will conveniently admit, to the distribution of Offices among persons, belonging to the different parts of the Union. But my knowledge of the characters of persons, through an extent of fifteen hundred miles, must be so imperfect as to make me liable to fall into mistakes: which, in fact, can only be avoided by the disinterested aid of my coadjutors. I forbear to enlarge on the delicacy there certainly will be, in discharging this part of our trust with fidility, and without giving occasion for uneasiness. It . . .[59]

[46] . . . Certain propositions for taking measures to obtain explanations and amendments on some articles of the Constitution, with the obvious intention of quieting the minds of the good people of these United States, will come before you and claim a dispassionate consideration. Whatever may not be deemed incompatible with the fundamental principles of a free and efficient government ought to be done for the accomplishment of so desirable an object. The reasonings which have been used, to prove[60]

[58] The original is in the possession of George A. Ball, of Muncie, Ind.

[59] This fragment is the lower part of p. 45. The original is in the possession of Walter P. Gardner, of Jersey City, N. J.

[60] This fragment is the lower part of p. 46.

[47] prove that amendments could never take place after this Constitution should be adopted, I must avow, have not appeared conclusive to me. I could not understand, by any mathematical analogy, why the whole number of States in Union should be more likely to concur in any proposed amendment, than three fourths of that number: before the adoption, the concurrence of the former was necessary for effecting this measure, since the adoption, only the latter. Here I will not presume to dictate as to the time, when it may be most expedient to attempt to remove all the redundances or supply all the defects, which shall be discovered in this complicated machine. I will barely suggest, whether it would not be the part of prudent men to observe it fully in movement, before they undertook to make such alterations, as might prevent a fair experiment of its effects? and whether, in the meantime, it may not be practicable for this Congress (if their proceedings shall meet with the approbation of three fourths of the Legislatures) in such manner to secure to the people all their [48] justly-esteemed previledges, as shall produce extensive satisfaction?

The complete organization of the Judicial Department was left by the Constitution to the ulterior arrangement of Congress. You will be pleased therefore to let a supreme regard for equal justice and the inherent rights of the citizens be visible in all your proceedings on that important Subject.

I have a confident reliance, that your wisdom and patriotism will be exerted to raise the supplies for discharging the interest on the National debt and for supporting the government during the current year, in a manner as little burdensome to the people as possible. The necessary estimates will be laid before you. A general, moderate Impost upon imports; together with a higher Tax upon certain enumerated articles, will, undoubtedly, occur to you in the course . . .

[57] . . . of the soil and the Sea, for the wares and merchandize of other Nations is open to all.

Notwithstanding the embarassments under which our trade has hitherto laboured, since the peace, the enterprising spirit of our citizens has steered our Vessels to almost every region of the known world.

In some distant and heretofore unfrequented countries, our new Constellation has been received with tokens of uncommon regard. An energetic government will give to our flag still greater respect: While a sense of reciprocal benefits will serve to connect us with the rest of mankind in stricter ties of amity. But an internal commerce is more in our power; and may be of more importance. The surplus of produce in one part of the United States, will, in many instances, be wanted in another. An intercourse of this kind is well calculated to multiply Sailors, exterminate prejudices, diffuse blessings, and encrease the friendship of the inhabitants of one State for those of another. [58] While the individual States shall be occupied in facilitating the means of transportation, by opening canals and improving roads: you will not forget that the purposes of business and Society may be vastly promoted by giving cheapness, dispatch and security to communications through the regular Posts. I need not say how satisfactory it would be, to gratify the useful curiosity of our citizens by the conveyance of News Papers and periodical Publications in the public vehicles without expence.

Notwithstanding the rapid growth of our population, from the facility of obtaining subsistence, as well as from the accession of strangers, yet we shall not soon become a manufacturing people. Because men are ever better pleased with labouring on their farms, than in their workshops.

Even the mechanics who come from Europe, as soon as they can procure a little land of their own, commonly turn Cultivators. Hence it will be found more beneficial, I believe, to continue to exchange[61]

[59] our Staple commodities for the finer manufactures we may want, than to undertake to make them ourselves. Many articles, however, in wool, flax, cotton, and hemp; and all in leather, iron, fur and wood may be fabricated at home with great advantage. If the quantity of wool, flax, cotton and hemp should be encreased to ten-fold its present amount (as it easily could be) I apprehend the whole might in a short time be manufactured. Especially by the introduction of machines for multiplying the effects of labour, in diminishing the number of hands employed upon it. But it will rest with you to investigate what proficiency we are capable of making in manufactures, and what encouragement should be given to particular branches of them. In almost every House, much Spinning might be done by hands which otherwise would be in a manner idle.

[60] It remains for you to make, out of a Country poor in the precious metals and comparatively thin of inhabitants a flourishing State. But here it is particularly incumbant on me to express my idea of a flourishing state with precision; and to distinguish between happiness and splendour. The people of this Country may doubtless enjoy all the great blessings of the social State: and yet United America may not for a long time to come make a brilliant figure as a nation, among the nations of the earth. Should this be the case, and should the people be actuated by principles of true magnanimity, they will not suffer their ambition to be awakened. They should guard against ambition as against their greatest enemy. We shou'd not, in

[61] From a text kindly furnished by Frederick S. Peck, of Barrington, R. I., who owns the original.

imitation of some nations which have been celebrated for a false kind of patriotism, wish to aggrandize our own Republic at the expence of the freedom and happiness of the rest of mankind. The prospect that the Americans will not act upon so narrow a scale affords the most comfortable [61] reflections to a benevolent mind. As their remoteness from other nations in a manner precludes them from foreign quarrels: so their extent of territory and gradual settlement, will enable them to maintain something like a war of posts, against the invasion of luxury, dissipation, and corruption. For after the large cities and old establishments on the borders of the Atlantic, shall, in the progress of time, have fallen a prey to those Invaders; the Western States will probably long retain their primœval simplicity of manners and incorruptible love of liberty. May we not reasonably expect, that, by those manners and this patriotism, uncommon prosperity will be entailed on the civil institutions of the American world? And may you not console yourselves for any irksome circumstances which shall occur in the performance of your task, with the pleasing consideration, that you are now employed in laying the foundation of that durable prosperity.

[62] It belongs to you especially to take measures for promoting the general welfare. It belongs to you to make men honest in their dealings with each other, by regulating the coinage and currency of money upon equitable principles; as well as by establishing just weights and measures upon an uniform plan. Whenever an opportunity shall be furnished to you as public or as private men, I trust you will not fail to use your best endeavors to improve the education and manners of a people; to accelerate the progress of arts and Sciences; to patronize works of genius; to confer rewards for inventions of utility; and to cherish institutions favourable to humanity. Such are among

the best of all human employments. Such exertion of your talents will render your situations truly dignified and cannot fail of being acceptable in the sight of the Divinity.

By a series of disinterested services it will be in our power to shew, that we have nothing . . .[62]

To THOMAS RANDALL

New York, May 2, 1789.

Sir: Desirous of being more particular in expressing my acknowledgments for the elegant Barge which was presented to me on my arrival in this City, than I could be at that moment; I must now request that you will be pleased to offer my best thanks to the Gentlemen who were owners of it, and assure them in my name that I consider myself much honored by their polite attention. I am, etc.[63]

*To EDWARD RUTLEDGE

New York, May 5, 1789.

My dear Sir: I cannot fail of being much pleased with the friendly part you take in every thing which concerns me; and

[62] The original is in the possession of Frederick S. Peck, of Barrington, R. I.

[63] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

On May 3 Lear wrote to Clement Biddle, for the President, that "He would thank you to propose it to Will to return to Mount Vernon when he can be removed for he cannot be of any service here, and perhaps will require a person to attend upon him constantly, if he should incline to return to Mount Vernon you will be so kind as to have him sent in the first Vessel that sails for Alexandria after he can be removed with safety, but if he is still anxious to come on here the President would gratify him Altho' he will be troublesome. He has been an old and faithful Servant this is enough for the President to gratify him in every reasonable wish." A copy of Lear's letter is in the "Letter Book" in the *Washington Papers*.

On May 4 Washington wrote to Mrs. Annis Boudinot Stockton, thanking her, quite briefly, for another of her poems. A copy of this is in the "Letter Book." Mrs. Stockton's letter of May 1 and the poem is in the *Washington Papers*.

On this same day (May 4) Washington also wrote briefly to Anthony Wayne, thanking him for his friendly sentiments. A copy of this letter is in the "Letter Book" in the *Washington Papers*.

particularly with the just scale on which you estimate this last great sacrafice which I consider myself as having made for the good of my Country. When I had judged, upon the best appreciation I was able to form of the circumstances which related to myself, that it was my duty to embark again on the tempestuous and uncertain Ocean of public life, I gave up all expectations of private happiness in this world. You know, my dear Sir, I had concentered all my schemes, all my views, all my wishes, within the narrow circle of domestic enjoyment. Though I flatter myself the world will do me the justice to believe, that, at my time of life and in my circumstances, nothing but a conviction of duty could have induced me to depart from my resolution of remaining in retirement; yet I greatly apprehend that my Countrymen will expect too much from me. I fear, if the issue of public measures should not corrispond with their sanguine expectations, they will turn the extravagant (and I may say undue) praises which they are heaping upon me at this moment, into equally extravagant (though I will fondly hope unmerited) censures. So much is expected, so many untoward circumstances may intervene, in such a new and critical situation, that I feel an insuperable diffidence in my own abilities. I feel, in the execution of the duties of my arduous Office, how much I shall stand in need of the countenance and aid of every friend to myself, of every friend to the Revolution, and of every lover of good Government. I thank you, my dear Sir, for your affectionate expressions on this point.

I anticipate that one of the most difficult and delicate parts of the duty of my Office will be that which relates to nominations for appointments. I receive with the more satisfaction the strong testimonials in behalf of Mr. Hall [64] because I hope they

[64] George Abbott Hall. He was State collector of customs at Charleston, S. C., and wished to be continued in that office under the United States.

will tend to supercede the difficulty in this instance. Though from a system which I have prescribed to myself I can say nothing decisive on particular appointments; yet I may be allowed to observe in general, that nothing could be more agreeable to me than to have one Candidate brought forward for every Office of such clear pretensions as to secure him against competition.

Mrs. Washington is not here, but is shortly expected; on her arrival I will offer the Compliments of Mrs. Rutledge and yourself to her. In the meantime, I pray you to believe that, I am with sentiments of the purest esteem and highest consideration My dear Sir Yr. etc.[65]

*To JAMES MADISON

New York, May 5, 1789.

My dear Sir: Notwithstanding the conviction I am under of the labour which is imposed upon you by *Public* Individuals as well as public bodies; yet, as you have begun, so I could wish you to finish, the good work in a short reply to the Address of the House of Representatives (which I now enclose) that there may be an accordance in this business.[66]

Thursday 12 Oclock, I have appointed to receive the Address. The proper plan is with the House to determine. As

[65] From a photostat of the original kindly furnished by Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach, of New York City.

[66] The House resolved (May 7) "that as the Chamber designed for the President's receiving the respective Houses is not yet prepared, this House will wait on the President to present their Answer to his Address, in the room adjacent to the Representatives Chamber." This answer was presented to the President on May 8 at the place appointed, to which the President replied in a formal acknowledgment on May 9, which, however, does not seem to have been presented in person. The Senate delivered an address to the President at his residence on May 18 and Washington replied to it at that time and place. The Senate agreed to its address May 7 and the House adopted its Address May 5. Richardson's *Messages and Papers of the Presidents* jumbles these dates and Ford prints both addresses and answers immediately following his text of the inaugural without assigning dates. The "Letter Book" also dates or places these papers carelessly. The texts are here omitted as they consist merely of complimentary matter of no historical value.

the first of every thing, *in our situation* will serve to establish a Precedent, it is devoutly wished on my part, that these precedents may be fixed on true principles. With Affectionate regard etc.[67]

To DOCTOR WILLIAM SHIPPEN

New York, May 7, 1789.

Dear Sir: The new and busy scenes in which I have been occupied since I received your favor of the 6th. of last month, containing an extract of a letter from your son, will plead my excuse for not having acknowledged the receipt of it at an earlier day.

I have now to express my satisfaction for this mark of your attention, and to thank you for the interest you take in the honor which has lately been done me. I will only add that the style of your son's letter is highly pleasing, and that the subject matter of it evinces he has not mis-employed his time since he has been absent from America. I am etc.[68]

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[67] From a photostat of the original kindly furnished by Thomas Madigan, of New York City.

On May 5 Washington sent a brief note to Hamilton. "I beg you to accept my unfeigned thanks for your friendly communications of this date, and that you will permit me to entreat a continuation of them as occasions may arise. The manner chosen for doing it, is most agreeable to me. It is my wish to act right; if I err, the head and not the heart, shall, with *justice*, be chargeable." This letter is in the *Hamilton Papers*.

On this same day (May 5) Washington also wrote, more or less briefly, to George Abbott Hall, concerning his application for appointment, and on the same day acknowledge letters of recommendation of Hall, from William Moultrie, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, John Rutledge, John Mathews, Gov. Charles Pinckney, and Thomas Bee. To Rutledge he wrote: "At this time it would, perhaps, be improper for me to say any thing more on the subject, than that it will be peculiarly agreeable to me, if upon a general view of the business, I shall be able to make the discharge of my duty to the Public, comport with the inclinations of so many respectable members of the community as have interested themselves in favor of the Candidate in question." Copies of all these letters are in the "Letter Book" in the *Washington Papers*.

[68] In the writing of Tobias Lear in the Shippen Deposit in the Library of Congress.

To ABRAHAM BALDWIN

New York, May 7, 1789.

Sir: I have duly received your letter of the 30th. of April, containing the resignation of your seat at the general Board of Commissioners for finally adjusting all accounts between the United States and the individual States: and shall cause it to be filed in the proper office as soon as the necessary arrangment of Departments shall have been made. I am etc.[69]

To CLEMENT BIDDLE

New York, May 8, 1789.

Dear Sir: I have received your much esteemed favors of the 4th and 6th Instt, the former covering Gallaghar's bill which is returned herewith, having all the necessary, done to it.

The President is desireous of getting as much superfine blk broad Cloth as will make him a suit of Clothes, and desires me to request that you would send him that quantity, provided it can be here by tuesday Eveng., and the *quality* thus. The best superfine French or Dutch black, exceedingly fine, of a soft, silky texture, not glossy like the Engh. cloths. If this quality can be obtained and be forwarded by the Mail so as to be here on *Tuesday Evening* you will be so good as to procure it, otherwise not, as there is none of the above description to be had at present in this city.[70] With very great esteem etc.[71]

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[69] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

[70] On May 14 Lear wrote Biddle to send the cloth on "as soon as may be." The original of this letter is in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

[71] From a Toner transcript of the original in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, copied in 1893.

To THE ACTING SECRETARY AT WAR

United States, May 9, 1789.

Sir: The enclosed papers relative to a treaty with the Cherokee Indians were put into my hands: and as I understand that matters of this kind have hitherto been considered as belonging to the department of the Secretary of War to examine and report thereon, and knowing that you have others of a similar nature now in your hands I would wish you to make a summary report on the whole as soon as may be.[72] I am etc.

To JAMES BOWDOIN

New York, May 9, 1789.

Sir: Since my arrival in this place I have been honored with your letters of the 18th of Feby. and 24th of April.

To meet the congratulations and assurances of support from those Characters whose opinions I revere, will be of no small service in enabling me to overcome the diffidence which I have in my own abilities, to execute properly the important and untried task which my Country has assigned me.

No part of my duty will be more delicate, and, in many instances, more unpleasing, than that of nominating or appointing persons to offices. It will undoubtedly often happen that there will be several candidates for the same office whose pretensions, abilities and integrity may be nearly equal, and who will come forward so equally supported in every respect as

[72] The "Letter Book" gives Knox the title of Acting Secretary of War. He was, of course, a hold-over from the Continental Congress, and was commissioned as Secretary of War of the United States Sept. 12, 1789.

almost to require the aid of supernatural intuition to fix upon the right. I shall, however, in all events, have the satisfaction to reflect that I entered upon my administration unconfined by a single engagement, uninfluenced by any ties of blood or friendship, and with the best intentions and fullest determination to nominate to office those persons only, who, upon every consideration, were the most deserving, and who would probably execute their several functions to the interest and credit of the American Union, if such characters could be found by my exploring every avenue of information respecting their merits and pretensions that it was in my power to obtain.

With great respect etc.[73] [MS. H. S.]

To JAMES WILSON

United States, May 9, 1789.

Dear Sir: The new and busy scenes in which I have been constantly engaged since the receipt of your letter of the 21st. Ultimo,[74] will, I trust, apologize for my not having acknowledged it at an earlier period.

To you, my dear Sir, and others who know me, I presume it will be unnecessary for me to say that I have entered upon my office without the constraint of a single *engagement,* and that I never wish to depart from that line of conduct which will always leave me at full liberty to act in a manner which is befitting an impartial and disinterested Magistrate. I am etc.[75]

[73] In the writing of Tobias Lear. This letter is entered in the "Letter Book" as bearing date of May 6.

On May 7 Washington had written practically this same letter to Nathaniel Gorham, a copy of which is in the "Letter Book" in the *Washington Papers.*

[74] Wilson applied for appointment of Chief Justice of the United States. His letter is in the *Applications for Office under Washington* in the Library of Congress.

[75] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers.*

To THOMAS McKEAN

United States, May 9, 1789.

Sir: I have duly received your letter of the 27th. of April; and as the contents are of a nature which do not require a particular answer, I shall only acknowledge the receipt of it;[76] observing, at the same time, that, the resolution which I have formed, and from which I never will depart, will always leave me at full liberty to act upon every subject which may come before me without the embarrassments of any previous *engagements*. With great esteem etc.[77]

To WILLIAM HEATH

United States, May 9, 1789.

Sir: The numerous congratulations which I have received from Public Bodies and respectable individuals since my appointment to my present station, are truly grateful, as they hold forth the strongest assurances of support to the Government as well as a warm attachment to myself. It is from the good dispositions of the people at large, from the influence of respectable Characters, and from the patriotic co-operation of a wise and virtuous legislature, more than from any abilities of mine that I can promise success to my administration. The kind interposition of Providence which has been so often manifested in the affairs of this country, must naturally lead us to look up to that divine source for light and direction in this new and untried Scene.

[76] McKean's application for an appointment in the judicial department of the Government (April 27) is in the *Applications for Office under Washington* in the Library of Congress.

[77] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

I thank you, Sir, most sincerely for the good wishes and friendly gratulations contained in your letter of the 2nd. of April, as well as for the offer which you make of your services if your country should require them.[78] There is I believe, no part of my administration in which I shall find myself more embarrassed than that of nominating persons to offices. The pretensions will be so numerous, and many of them so nearly equal that it will require no small degree of discernment and investigation to hit upon the right. I shall, however, in all events, have the consolation of reflecting that I entered upon my duty without the restriction of a single engagement, and, if I know myself, under no partial influences. I shall leave no means in my power unessayed to find out the most deserving and best qualified persons to fill the several departments which it falls to my lot to supply. With very great esteem etc.[79]

To GOVERNOR JOHN HANCOCK

United States, May 9, 1789.

Sir: I am taking the earliest occasion of acknowledging the receipt of the letter, which you did me the favor to address to me by Mr. Allen; and to thank you for your kind congratulations on my appointment to the Presidency of the United States.

Mrs. Washington is not here but is expected in the course of this month, on her arrival I shall not fail of executing the friendly commission of Mrs. Hancock and yourself.

In tendering my respectful compliments to both, and in hopes that the present favorable season may greatly accelerate the recovery of your health, I remain with the highest respect and consideration Sir, etc.

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[78] Heath applied for an appointment, civil or military. His letter is in the *Applications for Office under Washington* in the Library of Congress.

[79] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

P. S. Since writing the above, I have been honored with your Excellency's favor of the 2d. enclosing an Account of the Exports and clearances from the port of Boston, for the years 1787 and 8 for which I pray you to accept my best thanks.[80]

To PHILIP SCHUYLER

United States, May 9, 1789.

Dear Sir: I yesterday had the pleasure to receive your favor of the 2d instant, and must beg you to accept of my most grateful acknowledgments for your good wishes and kind gratulations upon my entrance on a new and arduous task.

It is only from the assurances of support which, I have received from the respectable and worthy characters in every part of the Union, that I am enabled to overcome the diffidence which I have in my own abilities to execute my great and important trust to the best interest of your country. An honest zeal, and an unremitting attention to the interest of United America is all that I dare promise.

The good dispositions which seem at present to pervade every class of people afford reason for your observation that the clouds which have long darkened our political hemisphere are now dispersing, and that America will soon feel the effects of her natural advantages. That invisible hand which has so often interposed to save our Country from impending destruction, seems in no instance to have been more remarkably excited than in that of disposing the people of this extensive Continent to adopt, in a peaceable manner, a Constitution, which if well administered, bids fair to make America a happy nation.

With very sincere regard, etc.[80]

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[80] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

On May 9 Washington received and answered an address from the mayor, aldermen, and commonalty of the city of New York, both of which are entered in the "Letter Book." In his reply Washington wrote, in part: "I am far from claiming any

To JOHN CAMPBELL

New York, May 10, 1789.

Sir: If a white horse, which your Servant was on the day I travelled with you from Bladensburg to Baltimore, has recovered of his lameness, and you have no particular predilection for him, I should be glad, as he is so good a match for the one I had of Mr. Prescott, if you would sell him to, or swap him with me.[81]

Mrs. Washington, with a Nephew of mine (Mr. Lewis) will, I expect be in Bladensburg on the morning of the 18th., on their way to this place, when the matter may be effected, if agreeable to you. If it is by way of exchange, which would be more convenient to me than to pay the cash, it will be for the horse on which Mr. Lewis will ride, and which will be either one of his own, of which I know nothing, and therefore can say nothing, or one of my chariot horses now 7 years old this spring, spirited and good, but by an accidental stroke of his hind foot against the cock of his foreshoe (in a mud hole) a day or two before I left home, was rendered unfit for the journey and left, but now is, I am informed, quite well. If it is for cash only you would part with your horse I must give what you shall think a horse of his age (which I was told was 10 or 11) is worth, and will pay your draft upon me at this place for the amount.

I feel the necessity of making an apology for offering to buy without knowing you were disposed to sell, and shall rely on your goodness for an excuse. I am etc.[82]

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merit for retiring in the manner I did from a military command to the shade of private life. . . . No circumstance, in my conception, can be more consolatory to a public man . . . than a knowledge that his countrymen are disposed to consider the motives of his conduct with that liberality, which is reciprocally necessary for all, who are subject to the frailties of human nature . . . the partiality of my Countrymen in my favor has induced them to expect too much from the exertions of an individual. It is from their co-operation alone, I derive all my expectations of success."

[81] Robert Lewis's diary, a copy of which is in the *Washington Papers,* mentions that Mr. Campbell's horse was purchased.

[82] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers.*

*QUERIES ON A LINE OF CONDUCT TO BE PURSUED BY THE PRESIDENT

[May 10, 1789]

The President of the United States wishes to avail himself of your sentiments on the following points:

1st. Whether a line of conduct, equally distant from an association with all kinds of company on the one hand and from a total seclusion from Society on the other, ought to be adopted by him? and, in that case, how is it to be done?

2d. What will be the least exceptionable method of bringing any system, which may be adopted on this subject, before the public and into use?

3d. Whether, after a little time, one day in every week will not be sufficient for receiving visits of Compliment?

4th. Whether it would tend to prompt impertinent applications and involve disagreeable consequences to have it known, that the President will, every Morning at eight Oclock, be at leisure to give Audience to persons who may have business with him?

5th. Whether, when it shall have been understood that the President is not to give *general entertainments* in the manner the Presidents of Congress have formerly done, it will be practicable to draw such a line of discrimination in regard to persons, as that Six, eight or ten official characters (including in the rotation the members of both Houses of Congress) may be invited informally or otherwise to dine with him on the days fixed for receiving Company, without exciting clamours in the rest of the Community?

6th. Whether it would be satisfactory to the Public for the President to make about four great entertainmts. in a year on such great occasions as . . . the Anniversary of the Declaration

of Independence . . . the Alliance with France . . . the Peace with Great Britain . . . the Organization of the general Government: and whether arrangements of these two last kinds could be in danger of diverting too much of the Presidents time from business, or of producing the evils which it was intended to avoid by his living more recluse than the Presidts. of Congress have heretofore lived.

7th. Whether there would be any impropriety in the Presidents making informal visits; that is to say, in his calling upon his Acquaintances or public Characters for the purposes of sociability or civility: and what (as to the form of doing it) might evince these visits to have been made in his private character, so as that they may not be construed into visits from the President of the United States? and in what light would his appearance *rarely at Tea* parties be considered?

8th. Whether, during the recess of Congress, it would not be advantageous to the interests of the Union for the President to make the tour of the United States, in order to become better acquainted with their principal Characters and internal Circumstances, as well as to be more accessible to numbers of well-informed persons, who might give him useful information and advices on political subjects?

9th. If there is a probability, that either of the arrangements may take place, which will eventually cause additional expences, whether it would not be proper that those ideas should come into contemplation, at the time when Congress shall make a permanent provision for the support of the Executive?

Remarks

On the one side no augmentation can be effected in the pecuniary establishment which shall be made in the first instance, for the support of the Executive. On the other, all monies destined to that purpose beyond the actual expenditures, will be

left in the Treasury of the United States or sacredly applied to the promotion of some national objects.

Many things which appear of little importance in themselves and at the beginning, may have great and durable consequences from their having been established at the commencement of a new general government. It will be much easier to commence the administration, upon a well adjusted system, built on tenable grounds, than to correct errors or alter inconveniences after they shall have been confirmed by habit. The President in all matters of business and etiquette, can have no object but to demean himself in his public character, in such a manner as to maintain the dignity of Office, without subjecting himself to the imputation of superciliousness or unnecessary reserve. Under these impressions, he asks for your candid and undisguised Opinions.[83]

To JAMES MADISON

May 11, 1789.

My dear Sir: The enclosed[84] were communicated to me, (as you will perceive) to make a Confidential use of. Upon receipt

[83] The wrapper enclosing the replies to these queries is indorsed by Washington: "Sentiments of the Vice-President—Mr. Jay—& Colo Hamilton—On a line of Conduct most eligable to be pursued by the President of the U. S."

John Adams's response is in the *Washington Papers,* under date of May 12, 1789.

On May 10, or shortly thereafter, the General Committee of the United Baptist Churches in Virginia, which met in Richmond May 8–10, 1789, prepared an address to the President, to which Washington replied sometime during the month of May. Neither the address nor the reply are dated in the "Letter Book." Washington's reply stated in part: "If I could have entertained the slightest apprehension, that the constitution framed in the convention, where I had the honor to preside, might possibly endanger the religious rights of any ecclesiastical society, certainly I would never have placed my signature to it; and, if I could now conceive that the general government might ever be so administered as to render the liberty of conscience insecure, I beg you will be persuaded, that no one would be more zealous than myself to establish effectual barriers against the horrors of spiritual tyranny, and every species of religious persecution. For you doubtless remember, that I have often expressed my sentiments, that every man, conducting himself as a good citizen, and being accountable to God alone for his religious opinions, ought to be protected in worshipping the Deity according to the dictates of his own conscience."

[84] The papers sent by Washington to Madison probably referred to George Morgan's attempted settlement of New Madrid.

of the first letter, I expressed a desire to be informed (if there was nothing improper in it) through what channel the report came, and what reliance could be placed in the authenticity of it. This produced the secd. letter. As you are upon business which requires every information of the State of the Union and knowledge of our relative situation with G. Britain I give you the perusal of them, at your leizure as I am in no immediate want of the Papers. I am etc.[85]

To THE ACTING SECRETARY FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS

New York, May 11, 1789.

Dear Sir: A few days ago I was conversing with you on the points contained in the enclosed queries,[86] when a Gentleman coming in put an end to the conversation.

As it is my earnest wish to adopt such a line of conduct as shall be judged most likely to secure essentials without being exposed more than is unavoidable to the charge of too much reserve on the one hand, or too much familiarity on the other, I would be much obliged to you for considering and returning the enclosed with your sentiments thereon as soon as you can make it convenient to yourself. With great and sincere regard etc.[87]

To JAMES MADISON

New York, May 12, 1789.

My dear Sir: To draw such a line for the conduct of the President as will please *every* body, I know is impossible, but to

[85] From the printed text in the sales catalogue of the *Washington-Madison Papers* (McGuire Collection, 1892).

This letter is also entered in two different volumes of the "Letter Book" in the *Washington Papers*. All three texts vary in verbal details, one from the other.

[86] On the conduct of the President.

[87] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

mark out and follow one (which by being consonent with reason) will meet general approbation, may be as practicable as it is desireable. The true medium I conceive must lye in pursuing such a course, as will allow him time for all the official duties of his station. This should be the primary object. The next, to avoid as much as may be, the charge of superciliousness, and seclusion from information by too much reserve and too great a withdraw of himself from company on the one hand, and the inconveniences, as well as reduction of respectability by too free an intercourse, and too much familiarity on the other.

Under these impressions I have submitted the enclosed queries for your consideration, and would thank you for your sentiments thereon, with the return of the paper.[88] For the remarks which it contains, it is necessary that some plan should be adopted by the President for his mode of living; that the pecuniary estimates for the department may have an eye thereto; and, though *secondary,* it is a motive for my bringing the matter before you at this time. I am your affectionate friend &c.[89]

To WILLIAM FITZHUGH[90]

United States, May 14, 1789.

Dear Sir: Your letter of the 26th of April was handed to me but a few days ago. Your congratulations, and the good wishes of yourself, Mrs. Fitzhugh and your family deserve, and receive my warmest acknowledgments.

Amidst the numerous applications which are made for offices I shall leave no means in my power untried to gain such information and knowledge of characters and pretensions as

[88] *See* Queries on a Line of Conduct to Be Pursued by the President, May 10, 1789, *ante.*

[89] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers.*

[90] Of Patuxent, Md.

will enable me to nominate those who, upon every consideration, are the most proper to fill them; for I have entered upon the duties of my station unconfined by any engagements, and uninfluenced by any ties.

With very great regard etc.[91]

To GEORGE PLATER

United States, May 14, 1789.

Dear Sir: I have received your letter of the 29th of April, and must beg you to accept of my best thanks for your kind gratulations and good wishes.

I foresaw the numerous applications which would be made for nominations to offices, and readily conceived that amidst the variety of candidates, it would be one of the most delicate and difficult duties of the President to disseminate those characters which, upon every account, were best fitted to fill the several offices. I have entered into Public life without the restraint of blood or friendship: I shall, therefore, use my best endeavors to find out such persons as are most suitable, on every account, to fill the respective offices, and such only shall I nominate.

With my compliments to Mrs. Plater and your family, and with very great regard etc.[91]

To WILLIAM HETH

New York, May 14, 1789.

Sir: I have duly received your favor of the 3 inst dated at Mount Vernon.

I am much pleased with the arrangement you have made for Mrs. Washington's coming on here with stage horses, and must

[91] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

beg you to accept of my best thanks for your attention and trouble in this business. The previous settlement of the price with the proprietors of the horses was a very prudent and a very necessary step, and I think the rate at which you have fixed it with them is exceedingly reasonable.

You will please, Sir, to receive my best wishes for your health and happiness, and believe me to be With very great regard etc.[92]

To JOSEPH JONES

New York, May 14, 1789.

Dear Sir: Your letter of the 21st Ulto. came duly to hand, and should have received an earlier acknowledgment had not the new and busy scenes in which I have been engaged since my arrival in this place, rendered it impossible for me to pay that early attention to the favors of my friends which I should be pleased to do.

The numerous and friendly congratulations which I have received from respectable characters in every part of the Union are truly pleasing to me; not only on account of their discovering a warm attachment to my person, but because they convey the most flattering idea of the good dispositions of the people in the several States, and the strongest assurances of support to the Government. It affords me likewise no small satisfaction to find that my friends have done justice to the motives which again brought me into Public Life.

Under all these circumstances I shall feel a degree of confidence in discharging the duties of my administration, which a consciousness alone of the purity and rectitude of my intentions could not have inspired me with.

[92] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

Your observations upon the necessity there is for good dispositions to prevail among the Gentlemen of Congress, are extremely just; and hitherto, everything seems to promise that the good effects which are expected from an accommodating and conciliating spirit in that body, will not be frustrated.

That part of the President's duty which obliges him to nominate persons for offices is the most delicate, and in many instances will be, to me, the most unpleasing; for it may frequently happen that there will be several applicants for the same office, whose merits and pretensions are so nearly equal that it will almost require the aid of supernatural intuition to fix upon the right. I shall, however, in all events, have the consolation of knowing that I entered upon my office unconfined by engagements, and uninfluenced by any ties; and that no means in my power will be left untried to find out, and nominate those characters who will discharge the duties of their respective offices to the best interest and highest credit of the American Union.

I cannot close this letter, my dear Sir, without thanking you very sincerely for your friendly sentiments and good wishes; and beg you will be assured that I am etc.[93] [N. Y. P. L.]

To GOVERNOR BEVERLEY RANDOLPH

New York, May 16, 1789.

Sir: A letter of the 4th instant from Lt: Governor Wood[94] has been received with its inclosures, containing the information of some murders committed by the Indians on the 23d of last month at Dunkard Creek which runs into the Monongahala River.

It is with great concern that I learn this circumstance, as a treaty has been lately concluded by the Governor of the western

[93] In the writing of Tobias Lear.
[94] James Wood, Lieutenant Governor of Virginia.

territory with the Wiandot, Delawar, Ottawa, Chippawa, Pattawatima, and Sac nations of Indians, North West of the Ohio.

It is most probable that the recent murders have been committed by a party from the remnants of the Shawanese tribe, who are joined by a few renegado Cherokees.

The Governor of the western territory,[95] who is here, will soon return to the frontiers, and he will, in conjunction with the commanding officer of the troops, take such measures, with the said Shawanese and other refractory tribes, as the occasion may require, and the public situation admit.

It would be highly proper, in future, in case of depredations south of the Ohio, that information be communicated as early as possible to the nearest post of the troops stationed on the Ohio, in order if possible that the banditii be intercepted. I have the honor etc.[96] [H. S. P.]

To MARY WOOSTER[97]

New York, May 21, 1789.

Madam: I have duly received your affecting letter, dated the 8th day of this Month.[98] Sympathizing with you, as I do, in the great misfortunes, which have befallen your family in consequence of the War; my feelings as an individual would forcibly prompt me to do every thing in my power to repair those misfortunes. But as a public man, acting only with a reference to the public good, I must be allowed to decide upon all points of my duty without consulting my private inclinations and wishes. I must be permitted, with the best lights I can obtain, and upon a general view of characters and circumstances,

[95] Arthur St. Clair.
[96] In the writing of Tobias Lear.
[97] Widow of Brig. Gen. David Wooster.
[98] Mrs. Wooster's letter, requesting for the appointment of her son Thomas, is in the *Applications for Office under Washington* in the Library of Congress.

to nominate such persons alone to offices, as, in my judgment, shall be the best qualified to discharge the functions of the departments to which they shall be appointed.

Hitherto I have given no decisive answers to the applications of any candidates whatsoever. Nor would it be proper for me before offices shall be created, and before I can have a general knowledge of the Competitors for them, to say any thing that might be construed as intended to encourage or discourage the hopes which individuals may have formed of success. I only wish (so far as my agency in this business is concerned) that Candidates for offices would save themselves the trouble and consequent expense of personal attendance. All that *I* require, is the name and such testimonials with respect to abilities, integrity and fitness as it may be in the power of the several applicants to produce: beyond this, nothing with *me* is necessary, or will be of any avail to them in my decisions. In the mean time, I beg you will be persuaded, Madam, that, let the result be whatsoever it may, I can have no interest to promote but that of the public; and that I remain in all personal considerations, with the highest respect, Madam etc.[99]

To CAPTAINS DE MOLITOE AND VULTEIUS

United States, May 21, 1789.

Gentlemen: Your letter of the 18th instant[1] setting forth your distressed condition, and requesting some pecuniary assistance, has been put into my hands.

The distresses of my fellow creatures are never known to me without giving pain, to whatever Nation or Country they belong; and happy should I be could I relieve the wants and necessities of every one; but, Gentlemen, that is out of my

[99] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.
[1] Not now found in the *Washington Papers*.

power, and there are thousands of my own Countrymen whose misfortunes should certainly claim my first attention; but even here I am unable to gratify my feelings, for I receive no emolument for my public services, and my private fortune would be totally inadequate to the numerous applications which are made to me for assistance. I presume, therefore, you will not think it proceeds from a disinclination to help the needy, or from a pointed discrimination between my own Countrymen and foreigners that I do not comply with your request. I am etc.[2]

To JAMES KELSO

United States, May 21, 1789.

Sir: I have to inform you in consequence of your Memorial,[3] that I cannot undertake to make nominations for appointments,[4] or give indications of patronage in any instance, before offices are created. Nor will it be of any use, for any Candidate to remain in this place, for the sake of making personal applications to me. Facts and testimonials will alone be of avail, and I shall endeavor upon a general view of circumstances to act upon them accordingly. I am etc.[2]

To MATHEW CAREY

New York, May 21, 1789.

Sir: However desirous I am to encourage or promote useful publications, it is not in my power to comply with the request made in your letter of the 21. ult. to select from my papers such documents of interesting circumstances, skirmishes, and battles of the revolution; as would enable you to prosecute the

[2]From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.
[3]In the *Applications for Office under Washington* in the Library of Congress.
[4]Kelso had applied for appointment of Controller of Customs of Baltimore, Md.

design, which you have begun of publishing in the American Museum a series of documents and public papers. for all the papers in my possession, relative to the revolution, are packed up in trunks and boxes at Mount Vernon. I am etc.[5]

To MATHEW CAREY

New York, May 22, 1789.

Sir: In addition to what I wrote to you formerly on the subject of a loan, I now inform you (and desire that *this letter* which conveys the information may be destroyed so soon as it is read) that my utmost exertions were ineffectually used to borrow a sum of money (even at a high interest, and for me on disadvantageous terms) to comply with contracts of my own before I left Virginia. Having made this communication it is unnecessary to adduce further proof of my inability to comply with the request which is contained in your letter of the 18th instant. I am etc.[5]

To JAMES WARREN

United States, May 23, 1789.

Sir: I have duly received your very friendly letter of the 2nd Instant, and beg you to accept of my sincere acknowledgment and best thanks for the kind congratulations, and good wishes which were contained in it.

It affords me peculiar satisfaction to see the Union of sentiment which seems to prevail in favor of our new system of Government. I find that the good and respectable characters from every quarter are determined to give it their countenance and support, notwithstanding some of them apprehended that evils might arise from particular parts of it.

[5] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers.*

Those who opposed the Constitution before its adoption, from principle, were pretty generally convinced of the necessity there was for a change in our former confederation, but its being accepted by so large a part of the community, the harmony which prevails in the legislature and the prospect of having those apprehensions done away by some alteration, have induced them to say with you, that "it is the duty of every good citizen to rejoice in every measure calculated to carry it into operation agreeably to the principle on which it was adopted."

It gives me no small pleasure to find that former friendships have not been destroyed by a difference of opinion on this great political point, it is a proof of the good disposition which govern the people of this Country, and which, if properly improved will make us a happy people.

With great regard etc.[6]

To WARNER LEWIS

New York, May 24, 1789.

Dear Sir: Your favor of the 9th instant, enclosing a duplicate of the letter you were so obliging as to write to me on the 11th of March came duly to hand, and I sincerely thank you for the attention you have bestowed on the matter I took the liberty of troubling you with.

I thought I had acknowledged the receipt of the last mentioned letter before I left Mount Vernon, but suppose from the multitude of letters that were poured upon me about that time, and other business that pressed, it was omitted.

The Gentleman (Mr. John Dandridge) to whom the land belongs or did belong has consented to take the price for it which you thought it was worth, and has been desired to make

[6] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

me deeds for it accordingly. Should he do this, of which I have no doubt, I may sometime hence ask your advice what would be best for me to do with it, to prevent its becoming a moth in the unimproved, and unproductive state in which it is from the payment of taxes.

As one's ideas of good, bad, and indifferent are comparative, and land that would be called good in one place would scarcely come under that description in another, and as I have a very perfect recollection of the complexion and quality of the soil about Warner-Hall, permit me, in order that I may form a more accurate opinion of the land in question, to ask if the land that was Bristows be worth £800 what would the like *quantity* of land equally unimproved, and no better or more timbered but of the same complexion and fertility of soil of that at Warner Hall be worth? The answer to this question will give me a very good idea of the value of the land formerly Bristows.

With every good wish for yourself, Lady, and family. I am etc.[7]

To THE SENATE

United States, May 25, 1789.

Gentlemen of the Senate: In pursuance of the Orders of the late Congress Treaties between the United States and several nations of Indians have been negociated and signed. These treaties[8] with sundry papers respecting them I now lay before you, for your consideration and advice; by the hands of General

[7] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

[8] The *Annals of Congress* (Washington: 1834), vol. 1, p. 40, cites these treaties as the treaty of Fort Stanwix, Oct. 22, 1784, with the Six Nations; of Fort McIntosh, Jan. 21, 1785, with the Wyandots, Delawares, Chippewas, and Ottawas; of the Great Miami, Jan. 31, 1786, with the Shawanese. (See *Journals of the Continental Congress*, June 3, 1785, and Apr. 17, 1876.) A treaty was also made at Fort Harmar, Jan. 9, 1789, with the Six Nations (Mohawks excepted), and with the Wyandot, Delaware, Ottawa, Chippewa, Potawotomi, and Sac Indians of the northwest territory.

Knox under whose official superintendence the Business was transacted, and who will be ready to communicate to you information upon such points as may appear to require it.[9]

To ELÉONOR FRANÇOIS ÉLIE, COMTE DE MOUSTIER

(Confidential)

New York, May 25, 1789.

Sir: What circumstances there may be existing between our two nations, to which you allude[10] on account of their peculiarity, I know not. But as those nations are happily connected in the strictest ties of Amity, not less by inclination and interest, than by the solemnity of a Treaty; and as the United States are too remote from Europe to take any share in the local politics of that continent; I had concluded, that Commerce was the only subject of Negotiations, which could, at present, be very interesting to the Inhabitants of the two Countries.

In two letters, which I had the pleasure of writing to you before I returned into public life, I stated (if I remember rightly, for I have not the copies of the letters with me) that I was so little acquainted with *commercial affairs,* that I should very much distrust my own judgment, even in the opinions which I might be obliged to hazard in treating casually of them. *This fact,* if there had been no other circumstance that merited a consideration, *would be a conclusive reason for preventing me individually from entering upon any kind of Negotiations on that subject.* For, while I find myself incompetent to it, I really believe that much reciprocal advantage might be acquired if

[9] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers.*

[10] Moustier's letter (May 19) claimed the privilege of dealing directly with the President in diplomatic affairs. (See also his letter (May 1), which should have been dated June 1, in answer to that from Washington, both of which are in the *Washington Papers.*)

that subject could be candidly and intelligently managed. This I should hope, too, might be the case; and so far shall I be from throwing any obstacles in the way, that I shall certainly take a great pleasure in removing (so far as lays in my power) such as may occur.

Every one who has any knowledge of my manner of acting in public life, will be persuaded that I am not accustomed to impede the despatch or frustrate the success of business, by a ceremonious attention to idle forms. Any person, of that description, will also be satisfied that I should not readily consent to lose one of the most important functions of my office, for the sake of preserving an imaginary dignity. But, perhaps, if there are rules of proceeding, which have originated from the wisdom of statesmen and are sanctioned by the common consent of Nations, it would not be prudent for a young state to dispense with them altogether, at least, without some substantial cause for so doing. I have myself been induced to think, possibly from the habits of experience, that in general the best mode of conducting negotiations, the detail and progress of which might be liable to accidental mistakes or unintentional misrepresentations, is by writing. This mode, if I was obliged myself to negotiate with any one, I should still pursue. I have, however, been taught to believe, that there is, in most polished nations, a system established, with regard to the foreign as well as the other great Departments, which, from the utility, the necessity, and the reason of the thing, provides that business should be digested and prepared by the Heads of those departments.

The impossibility that one man should be able to perform all the great business of the State, I take to have been the reason for instituting the great Departments, and appointing officers therein, to assist the supreme Magistrate in discharging the duties of his trust. And, perhaps, I may be allowed to say of myself,

that the supreme Magistrate of no State can have a greater variety of important business to perform in person, than I have at this moment. Very many things will doubtless occur to you, Sir, as being incident to the office of President in the commencement of the Government, which cannot be done by the intervention of a third person. You will give me leave to say likewise, that no third person (were there a disposition for it) shall ever have it in his power to erect a wall between me and the Diplomatic Corps; that is to say, to prevent necessary communications. Nor has anybody insinuated that it would be beneath the dignity of a President of the United States occasionally to transact business with a foreign Minister. But in what light the public might view the establishment of a precedent for negotiating the business of a Department, without any agency of the Head of the Department who was appointed for that very purpose, I do not at present pretend to determine: Nor whether a similar practice, in that case, must not of right be extended hereafter to all Diplomatic characters of the same rank.

Here you will be pleased to observe, Sir, that I am writing as General Washington to the Count de Moustiers. Happy am I that my regard for yourself and your Nation is so far from being equivocal, that I have had several occasions of making it known to you, both in conversation and writing. And I hope you will consider this Confidential letter as an evidence of the extreme regret which I should feel, in being obliged to decline any propositions, as to the mode of doing business, from a person who has so many titles to my esteem as the Count de Moustiers.

I will only add, that, under my present impressions, I cannot persuade myself, that I should be justifiable in deviating essentially from established forms. With the highest sentiments of esteem, &c.[11]

[11] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

To CALEB GIBBS

New York, May 26, 1789.

Dear Sir: I have received your letter respecting yourself;[12] and, at present, can only inform you, that I hold myself altogether disengaged from making any promises or giving any encouragement to any Candidates whatsoever. In this situation I shall continue, until the offices shall have been created by Congress, for which it may be necessary to make appointments. Whatever may be my private inclinations and feelings, it will then be my endeavour to find out and nominate such men as shall seem to be best calculated and best entitled in every respect to fill those offices, according to the clearest information I can obtain, and the most unbiassed judgment I can exercise on the subject. In the mean time, I request you will do me the justice to believe that I am, in all personal considerations, and with very great regard etc.[13]

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[12] Gibbs wrote two letters in 1789, one March 11 and the other May 25, applying for an appointment. Both of these letters are in the *Applications for Office under Washington* in the Library of Congress.

On May 26 the general assembly of Presbyterian churches in the United States, meeting in Philadelphia, sent an address to Washington. His answer, which is undated in the "Letter Book," follows immediately after the copy of the address. In it he wrote in part:

"While I reiterate the professions of my dependence upon Heaven as the source of all public and private blessings; I will observe that the general prevalence of piety, philanthropy, honesty, industry, and œconomy seems, in the ordinary course of human affairs, particularly necessary for advancing and confirming the happiness of our country. While all men within our territories are protected in worshipping the Deity according to the dictates of their consciences; it is rationally to be expected from them in return, that they will be emulous of evincing the sanctity of their professions by the innocence of their lives and the beneficence of their actions; for no man, who is profligate in his morals, or a bad member of the civil community, can possibly be a true Christian, or a credit to his own religious society.

"I desire you to accept my acknowledgments for your laudable endeavours to render men sober, honest, and good Citizens, and the obedient subjects of a lawful government."

[13] From a photostat of the original, in the writing of Tobias Lear, kindly furnished by Judge E. A. Armstrong, of Princeton, N. J.

To REVEREND JOHN GABRIEL GEBHARD

New York, May 26, 1789.

Sir: I have received your letter of the 18th. instant,[14] and thank you very sincerely for your good wishes and favorable sentiments, as well as for the polite offer which you make of rendering me any service in your power while you may be in Europe.

So far as relates to me personally I know nothing, at present, that I wish to have transacted in that part of the world; and as to the offer of your Services to the public, I can only say that when domestic matters are so arranged as to permit the business of foreign departments to come under consideration, such persons will be appointed to transact it as shall be found to have the best pretensions thereto, upon every consideration, and best qualified to do service and credit to their Country. I should be wanting in candour if I said any thing that might induce you to delay or postpone your intended voyage, which you say you would readily do to render any service to your Country. You will therefore, Sir, be directed by your own judgment in the persuit of your plans without suffering them to be interrupted by the expectation of any public employment. I am etc.[15]

To GOVERNOR GEORGE WALTON[16]

United States, May 29, 1789.

Sir: I have received by Colonel Gunn[17] your honors letters of the 11th and 15th of March, and the enclosures therein

[14] Gebhard's letter, which is in the *Applications for Office under Washington* in the Library of Congress, is dated from Claverack, N. Y.

[15] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

[16] Of Georgia.

[17] Col. James Gunn.

contained respecting the conduct of Joseph Martin Esqr. late agent of the United States to the Cherokee and Chickasaw nations of Indians.

It appears by the Resolve of Congress of the 19th. of June 1789,[18] that the said Joseph Martin was appointed an agent for the Cherokee nation of Indians to continue in office six months, and that on the 20th. of August following his agency was extended to the Chickasaw nation of Indians with the powers described in the act of the 19th. of June.

The period of his service therefore must be considered as having expired on the 19th day of December last.

His conduct will most probably operate to prevent any future confidence in him, or employment in the service of the United States. What further measures it may be proper to take respecting him will be subject of consideration.

The unhappy situation of affairs between the State of Georgia and the Creeks will soon be a subject of deliberation, and I am persuaded will receive all that dispatch that the nature of the case may require, and the circumstances of the Government admit. I have the honor etc.[19]

To MATHEW CAREY

New York, May 29, 1789.

Sir: In the course of my whole existence, I never before have been made the subject of such extraordinary conduct as that which I have been obliged to suffer by your sending to me unsealed, through a public conveyance, my letter of the 22d. and yours of the 27th. of this month.

[18] This date should be 1788.
[19] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

After the *candid* and my heart witnessed for me *not unfriendly part* I had always acted towards you, I hoped, for the credit of human nature, at least to have escaped an intentional insult. I am &c.[20]

To ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON

New York, May 31, 1789.

Sir: The new and busy scenes in which I have been constantly engaged since my arrival in this place, and which will not allow me to pay that pointed attention to the favours of my friends that my inclination would lead me to do, will, I trust, apologize for this late acknowledgment of your letter of the 15th inst.[21]

To you, Sir, and others who know me, I believe, it is unnecessary for me to say, that when I accepted of the important trust committed to my charge by my Country, I gave up every idea of personal gratification that I did not think was compatible with the public good. Under this impression I plainly foresaw that that part of my duty which obliged me to nominate persons to offices, would, in many instances, be the most irksome and unpleasing; for however strong my personal attachment

[20] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*. (*See* Washington's letter to Mathew Carey, June 10, 1789, *post*.)

On May 29 the bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church delivered in New York an address to Washington, to which he replied, presumably, on the same day. In that reply he stated: "I trust the people of every denomination, who demean themselves as good citizens, will have occasion to be convinced, that I shall always strive to prove a faithful and impartial Patron of genuine, vital religion." Copies of both the address and the reply are in the "Letter Book" in the *Washington Papers*.

On May 30 Lear wrote to Clement Biddle, for Washington, that Mrs. Washington wished the stays and slippers made by Mr. Sayre, sent to Mount Vernon. "The President will thank you to pay the charges which have been incurred by Billy, and send a statement of his Account that he may see how it stands, and make provision of necessary to remit." A copy of this letter is in the "Letter Book" in the *Washington Papers*.

[21] Not now found in the *Washington Papers*.

might be to any one, however desireous I might be of giving him a proof of my friendship, and whatever might be his expectations, grounded upon the amity which had subsisted between us, I was fully determined to keep myself free from every engagement that could embarrass me in discharging this part of my administration. I have, therefore, uniformly declined giving any decisive answer to the numerous applications which have been made to me; being resolved, whenever I am called upon to nominate persons for those offices which may be created, that I will do it with a sole view to the public good, and shall bring forward those who, upon *every* consideration, and from the best information I can obtain, will in my judgment be most likely to answer that great end.

The delicacy with which your letter was written, and your wishes insinuated, did not require me to be thus explicit on this head with you, but the desire which I have that those persons whose good opinion I value should know the principles on which I mean to act in this business, has led me to this full declaration; and I trust, that the truly worthy and respectable characters in this Country will do justice to the motives by which I am actuated in all my public transactions. I have the honor, etc.[22]

To JOHN CAMPBELL[23]

New York, May 31, 1789.

Sir: I have received your very polite letter of the 18th, and the obliging manner in which you have consented to dispose of your favorite horse to me deserves my warmest acknowledgments and best thanks.

I am perfectly satisfied with the price (of thirty five guineas) and shall forward the money to you by Mr. William Hunter

[22] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers.*
[23] Of Bladensburg, Md.

junior, of Alexandria, who says he shall set off for that place tomorrow.

The attachment which one feels for a good horse that has for any time been considered as a favorite I know is very great; I can, therefore, readily conceive that the only inducement you could have to part with yours was a desire to gratify the inclination which I had expressed to possess him, and I feel on that account the full force of the obligation.

If it will afford you any satisfaction to know that he will have the greatest care taken of him, and every necessary attention paid to him, you may be assured that it will be done while he is in my possession. With great esteem, I am etc.[24]

To GABRIEL P. VAN HORNE[25]

New York, May 31, 1789.

Sir: The particular care which you have taken in furnishing horses to bring Mrs. Washington from Virginia to this place, and more especially the very polite attention which you were so good as to pay her personally through the most dangerous and difficult part of the journey, has made a gratful impression upon her, and she desires you will please to accept of her warmest acknowledgments and best thanks, to which I must beg leave to join mine, and assure you that I am with very great esteem etc.[24]

To JAMES MADISON

[May ?, 1789.]

Mr Madison: As far as a momentary consideration has enabled me to judge, I see nothing exceptionable in the proposed amendments.[26] Some of them, in my opinion, are importantly

[24] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

[25] Of Harford County, Md.

[26] Madison has noted on this paper "Amendments to the Constitution proposed by J. M. at the first Session of Congress in 1789."

necessary, others, though in themselves (in my conception) not very essential, are necessary to quiet the fears of some respectable characters and well meaning Men. Upon the whole, therefore, not foreseeing any evil consequences that can result from their adoption, they have my wishes for a favourable reception in both houses.[27]

To ELÉONOR FRANÇOIS ÉLIE, COMTE DE MOUSTIER

New York, June 2, 1789.

Sir: The sentiments expressed in your letter of yesterday are perfectly consonant to my ideas of propriety. I never doubted that you was animated by motives of the purest regard for my Country and myself. On the other part, you may rest assured, I shall always be happy in occasions of demonstrating the sincerity of friendship for your sovereign and Nation: being with sentiments of real consideration and esteem, Sir, Your etc.[28]

To CLEMENT BIDDLE

New York, June 3, 1789.

Dear Sir: The President will thank you to put into the hands of Mr. William Hunter of Alexandria Thirty five guineas, for him to deliver to Mr. John Campbell of Bladensburg (on his

[27] From the printed text in the sales catalogue of *Washington-Madison Papers* (McGuire Collection, 1892), where it is undated. It was probably written near the end of May, 1789, as Madison made his speech on the Amendments June 8.

On May 31 Washington wrote to Mrs. Lydia Watkins, of New York, the usual non-committal letter respecting her application for the appointment of her son. A copy of this letter is also in the "Letter Book."

On this same day (May 31) Washington also wrote to a Monsieur de Lambert, that "as I receive no emoluments for my public services, and the expences which I have necessarily incurred by my late engagements in public life being all advanced by myself; you will readily perceive that it is not in my power to comply with your request." A copy of this letter is in the "Letter Book."

[28] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

way to Alexandria) in payment for a Horse sent by Mr. Campbell to the President. The reason of giving you this trouble is because the President desired me to inform Mr. Campbell that he would receive the money by Mr. Hunter, but Mr. Hunter leaving this place before I had an opportunity of delivering it to him, and understanding that he will be several days in Philadelphia the President thought best to have the Money delivered to him there. There is a Balance due from Mr. Hunter to the President and perhaps he will be desireous of paying the 35 guineas to Mr. Campbell without receiving them from you; but this would not be agreeable to the President for he engaged to *send the money* by Mr. Hunter, you will please to let the Guineas be sealed and directed to Mr. Jno. Campbell. Mr. Hunter may be paid in Philadelphia by applying to Mr. Clough. I am etc.[29]

To THE ACTING SECRETARY FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS

New York, June 8, 1789.

Sir: Although in the present unsettled state of the Executive Departments, under the government of the Union, I do not conceive it expedient to call upon you for information officially; yet I have supposed that some informal communications from the Office of foreign Affairs might neither be improper or unprofitable. For finding myself at this moment less occupied with the duties of my office than I shall probably be at almost

[29] This letter, signed "T. Lear," is in the "Letter Book" in the *Washington Papers*. He was Secretary to the President of the United States.

On June 4 Washington began "to read the Letters from the American Minister (Mr. Jefferson) at the Court of France to the Secretary for Foreign Affairs—Mr. Jay." The first letter briefed is that of Aug. 20, 1788, and the last is Mar. 15, 1789. "Finished reading and making the above and foregoing extracts June 8th." This was the beginning of a practise which Washington continued, more or less throughout his presidency. The extracts fill 8 folio pages and are in the *Washington Papers* under date of June 8, 1789. All the letters noted are found in the *Jefferson Papers* in the Library of Congress.

any time hereafter; I am desirous of employing myself in obtaining an acquaintance with the real situation of the several great Departments, at the period of my acceding to the administration of the general Government. For this purpose I wish to receive in writing such a clear account of the Department, at the head of which you have been for some years past, as may be sufficient (without overburdening or confusing the mind which has very many objects to claim its attention at the same instant) to impress me with a full, precise, and distinct *general idea* of the affairs of the United States, so far as they are comprehended in, or connected with that Department.

As I am now at leisure to inspect such Papers and Documents as may be necessary to be acted upon hereafter, or as may be calculated to give me an insight into the business and duties of that Department I have thought fit to address this notification to your accordingly.[30] I am &c.[31]

CIRCULAR TO THE SUPREME EXECUTIVES OF THE SEVERAL STATES

New York, June 8, 1789.

Sir: As Congress have not yet established any Department through which communications can be officially made from the

[30] This same letter was sent to the Acting Secretary at War and the Board of Treasury, which, with the Acting Secretary for Foreign Affairs, were officers holding over from the Continental Congress. No replies are now found in the *Washington Papers;* but among the undated manuscripts at the end of the year 1789 are memoranda in Washington's writing headed as follows: "Negotiation with Spain" (13 pp.); "From Mr. Swan's Report" (3 pp.), and "Boundary of Sales of Georgia" to various land companies (2 pp.); "Board of Treasury" (5 pp.): all of which seem to have been compiled from the now missing replies. The great departments of the Government under the Constitution were not created until September, 1789, although the Department of Foreign Affairs was created by the Act of Congress of July 27, 1789. Its name was subsequently changed to that of the Department of State and its head thereafter called the Secretary of State by the Act of Sept. 15, 1789.

On June 8 a letter to the same purport as this one to the Acting Secretary for Foreign Affairs was sent to the Acting Postmaster General, whose department was temporarily established by the act of Sept. 22, 1789, and permanently fixed by the act of Feb. 20, 1792.

[31] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers.*

General Government to the Executives of the several States, I do, agreeably to the foregoing Resolution, transmit to your Excellency the enclosed Act, and have the Honor, etc.[32]

[MD. H. S.]

To WILLIAM LYLES

New York, June 8, 1789.

Sir: Enclosed is the draft which I received of you in Virginia on Mr. William Hunter junior for three hundred pounds Virginia money.

Two hundred pounds have been paid by Mr. Hunter as you will see noted on the back of the draft, and, as it was not convenient for him to pay the whole here, I have remitted it to you, having received it upon the condition that I should be put to no trouble in the business if it was not paid readily. I am etc.[33]

To MATHEW CAREY

New York, June 10, 1789.

Sir: Your letter to me of the 27. and mine to you of the 22. ultimo came *open* to my hand as I informed you in my last. The first never had *received* a seal, nor a fold that would have enclosed (agreeably to the expression of your letter) the latter.

[32] From the original sent to the State of Maryland, in which the Resolve of Congress of June 5, 1789, precedes the letter, reciting "That in ten days after the passing of every Act of Congress during the present session, or until some other regulation shall be adopted, twenty two printed Copies thereof, signed by the Secretary of the Senate, and Clerk of the House of Representatives, and certified by them to be true Copies of the Original Acts, be lodged with the President of the United States, and that he be requested to cause to be transmitted two of the said Copies so attested as aforesaid to each of the supreme Executives in the several States." The circular is signed by Washington; but the attestations to the resolve are not, in this instance, as Congress decreed the future printed copies should be, being all in the same clerkly writing.

The letters of transmittal from the President which accompanied the future acts of Congress, which were forwarded to the States, will be omitted from the Bicentennial edition wherever they are merely form letters.

[33] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers.*

Both of them were wrapped in an open cover of brown paper, and exposed to the inspection of every curious person through whose hands they passed.

As you say it was not your intention to expose them I am satisfied with the apology, but wish more circumspection had been observed in the correspondence. I am etc.[34]

To THE SENATE

United States, June 11, 1789.

Gentlemen of the Senate: A Convention between his most Christian Majesty and the United States for the purpose of determining and fixing the functions and prerogatives of their respective Consuls, Vice-Consuls, Agents and Commissaries, was signed by their respective Plenipotentiaries on the 29th. July 1784.

It appearing to the late Congress that certain alterations in that convention ought to be made, they instructed their Minister at the Court of France to endeavour to obtain them. It has accordingly been altered in several respects and as amended was signed by the Plenipotentiaries of the contracting Powers on the 14th. of November 1788.

The 16th. Article provides that it shall be in force during the term of 12 years, to be counted from the day of the Exchange of Ratifications, which shall be given in proper form, and, exchanged on both sides within the space of one year or sooner if possible.

I now lay before you the original, by the hands of Mr. Jay for your consideration and advice, the Papers relative to this Negociation are in his custody and he has my Orders to commu-

[34] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers.*

nicate to you whatever official Papers and information on the subject, he may possess and you may require.[35]

To CLEMENT BIDDLE

New York, June 15, 1789.

Dear Sir: I have now before me your obliging favours of the 8th. 10, and 12 Int. The President is much obliged to you for your trouble and attention in making inquiries respecting the table ornaments, and if the large and small Glasses of M. Dela Croix are of the same set, he will thank you to procure them for him, and have them sent on in the most careful and expeditious manner possible, either by the Stage or otherwise as you may think best. The President has a Frenchman with him who is said to be a compleat Confectioner, and professes to understand everything relative to those ornaments, so that the Glasses only are wanting. The intention of having the Glasses in several pieces to adopt them to the size of the Table which you may wish to spread, and therefore, if the 5 Smaller Glasses of M. dela Croix are not parts of the two large, or such as to answer to them, the whole will be useless, and it will not be necessary to get them. I am etc.[36]

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[35] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

On June 11 Washington replied to an address from ministers and elders of the German Reformed congregations in the United States. The address of the ministers and Washington's reply are in the "Letter Book" in the *Washington Papers*.

[36] This letter was signed by Lear, and is entered in the "Letter Book" in the *Washington Papers*.

On June 15 Washington sent a message to the Senate, announcing that Thomas Jefferson had applied for and been granted a leave of absence to return home from France for a few months. William Short was nominated to take charge during Jefferson's absence and Washington requested "your advice on the propriety of appointing him." A copy of this message is in the "Letter Book" in the *Washington Papers*.

On June 19 Washington answered an address of the Governor and Council of North Carolina, dated May 10, in which he wrote in part: "A difference of opinion on political points is not to be imputed to Freemen as a fault since it is to be

To CLEMENT BIDDLE

New York, June 22, 1789.

Dear Sir: I have duly received your letters of the 15th 17th and 19th Inst. Billy arrived here safe and well on Wednesday Morning he seems not to have lost much flesh by his misfortune. The President thinks those Ornaments will not answer the purpose as the two sets are not made to Join each other and neither separate are large enough for his table.

He begs you to accept his thanks for the trouble you have had in this business.

The President has been much indisposed, for a week past with a fever and a tumor on his thigh. I have however, now the pleasure to inform you that the former has left him and the latter is in a fair way of being removed, from its size it will be some time before he will be relieved from the inconveniences of it. I am etc.[37]

To JOHN DANDRIDGE

New York, June 24, 1789.

Sir: The indisposition of the President of the United States prevents his acknowledging the reception of your letter of the 3rd instant enclosing an order in his favor on the honorable

presumed that they are all actuated by an equally laudable and sacred regard for the liberties of their Country. If the mind is so formed in different persons as to consider the same object to be somewhat different in its nature and consequences as it happens to be placed in different points of view; and if the oldest, the ablest, and the most virtuous Statesmen have often differed in judgment, as to the best forms of Government, we ought, indeed rather to rejoice that so much has been effected, than to regret that more could not all at once be accomplished." The address and answer are copied into the "Letter Book." Sparks prints the answer as of June 15, and it is so dated in the "Letter Book"; but the *American Museum* (July, 1789) gives the date as June 19.

[37] This letter was signed by Lear, and is entered in the "Letter Book" in the *Washington Papers.*

On June 22 Lear also wrote to John F. Mercer, acknowledging a bill of exchange on London for £75 sterling. "The set is now disposed of at 3½ p. cent above par, which is the current exchange here at 60 days on London, so that your account will

John Brown for £800 Virginia money, he has therefore directed me to do it, and to inform you that Mr. Brown has since arrived in this place. Your letter to him under cover to the President has been delivered and the order presented to him. Mr. Brown says he expected to have met you in Philada. upon the business of the order, when he passed through that place, but, as he did not, he thinks you will be there soon, and the order can be accommodated.

I am happy to inform you that the President's indisposition, which has been very severe, is now removed, and the only inconvenience he now labours under is the weakness consequent on his fever, and the effects of a large tumor on his thigh, which will perhaps confine him sometime yet although the danger is removed.[38]

Your Aunt desires me to give her love to you and your friends. You will be so good as to present my friendly and best wishes to your Sister Martha, together with those of Miss Eleanor and Master Custis. They desire that their Cousin may be informed that they are at very good schools, and are extremely fond of them and the Companions which they meet there, but they cannot help wishing for a return of their happy hours at Mount Vernon. I am etc.[39]

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have credit for £77. 12/6. Sterling or £103. 10/. Virginia currency, and for the cash remitted by you to Major Washington." A copy of Lear's letter is in the "Letter Book" in the *Washington Papers*.

[38] The tumor was stated to be a severe case of anthrax.

The house occupied by the President was No. 3, Cherry Street, on Franklin Square. It was then owned by Samuel Osgood, and was torn down in 1856. The *Pennsylvania Packet* (June 22) stated that "a chain extended across the street to prevent the passing of carriages before his door."

[39] This letter was signed by Lear, and is entered in the "Letter Book" in the *Washington Papers*.

On June 24 the Corporation of Visitors and Governors and the principal and faculty of professors of Washington College, in Maryland, addressed Washington, who answered, in part: "As in civilized Societies the welfare of the State and happiness of the People are advanced or retarded in proportion as the morals and good education of the youth are attended to. . . . It affords me peculiar pleasure etc." The address and this answer are entered in the "Letter Book" in the *Washington Papers*.

To LEONARD DE NEUFVILLE

New York, June 29, 1789.

Sir: Your letter of the present month and the papers accompanying it have been handed to me since my late indisposition. As all public accounts and matters of a pecuniary nature will come properly under the inspection of the Treasury Department of the United States, I shall, when that department is organized and established, have those papers laid before the Secretary thereof, and so far as my official agency may be necessary in the business it will meet with no delay. I am etc.[40]

To JOHN DANDRIDGE

New York, July 1, 1789.

Sir: I wrote to you on the 24 ult. by direction of the President of the United States, acknowledging the reception of your letter to him of the 3rd. of June, and informing you that Mr. Brown expected some further advice respecting your order on him in favor of the President for eight hundred pounds Virginia money, before he could discharge it.

I am now directed to inform you that Mr. Brown says he has received a letter from the Gentleman in Philadelphia, on whom Mr. Innes's bill was drawn advising him that he had not effects in his hands to enable him to discharge the bill, and it will therefore be regularly protested. Your order on Mr. Brown is herewith returned to you by direction of the President, that you may take such steps in the matter, on your own part, as you shall think best.

I am happy to inform you that the President has recovered his health, but still labours under the inconvenience of the

[40] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

incision that was made in the tumor on his thigh, which will not yet permit him to sit or exercise; however the Physicians say that nothing but the necessary time and patience are now requisite to remove this evil. I am etc.[41]

To JAMES McHENRY

New York, July 3, 1789.

Dear Sir: I have received your very friendly letter of the 28th of June, and feel a grateful sense of the interest which you take in my welfare and happiness, and the kind solicitude which you express for the recovery of my health. I have now the pleasure to inform you that my health is restored, but a feebleness still hangs upon me, and I am yet much incommoded by the incision which was made in a very large and painful tumor on the protuberance of my thigh; this prevents me from walking or sitting; however the Physicians assure me that it has had a happy effect in removing my fever, and will tend very much to the establishment of my general health; it is in a fair way of healing, and time and patience only are wanting to remove this evil. I am able to take exercise in my coach, by having it so contrived, as to extend myself the full length of it.

I thank you, my dear Sir, for the anxiety which you express that I should have some person about me, who is well acquainted with my constitution, and who has been accustomed to my confidence. The habits of intimacy and friendship, in which I have long lived with Dr. Craik, and the opinion I have of his professional knowledge, would most certainly point him out as the man of my choice in all cases of sickness. I am convinced of his sincere attachment to me, and I should with cheerfulness trust my life in his hands; but, how far circumstances

[41] This letter was signed by Lear, and is entered in the "Letter Book" in the *Washington Papers*.

at present would justify his quitting his practice in Alexandria, and its vicinity to gratify his inclinations and my wishes, I am not able to say; but could it be made consistent with his advantage to be near me, I am sure it would be highly pleasing to me. I must, however, in justice to Dr. Bard,[42] who has attended me during my late indisposition, declare, that neither skill nor attention has been wanting on his part, and, as I could not have the assistance of my good friend Dr. Craik, I think myself fortunate in having fallen into such good hands.

You have my sincere wishes, that your intended journey to the sweet springs may be the means of restoring the health of your Brother, and that it may be pleasant and healthful to yourself. I am, etc.[43]

To THE ACTING POSTMASTER GENERAL

New York, July 3, 1789.

Sir: Your letter of the 27th of June, together with the amount of receipts and expenditures of the General Post Office of the United States from 1782 to 1789, and the forms of Bonds, Accounts &c. relating to the Post Office Department, were duly handed to me; but my late indisposition has prevented my paying any attention to business 'till within a few days past.

I have now inspected those papers; and altho' I observe the Post Office has upon the whole, been profitable to the United States since the year 1782, yet I should wish to know the causes of the decrease of the income from that source between the

	Dolls.	90ths.	8ths.
year 1785, when it produced a profit of	13.373	54.	2
	Dols.	90ths.	8ths.
and the year 1789 when it lost	3208.	77.	2.

I must,

[42] Dr. Samuel Bard.

[43] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

therefore, request you to send me, *in detail,* the receipts and expenditures of the Post Office for two years (Viz,) from January 1st., 1784 to January 1st., 1785, and from January 1st., 1788 to January 1st., 1789. The returns made from the several Post Offices to the general Post Office for the two years just mentioned, agreeably to the form marked No. 9, will shew what offices have been productive: and the accounts of the General Post Office for the same years will point out the cause of the difference between the receipts and expenditures. I have read the several resolves of Congress referred to in your letter; and if the productiveness of the Post Office department was diminished by them, I conceive it must have been either by the increase of expence attending the conveyance of the Mail by Stages, (instead of Riders, as formerly), or by directing the Mail to be carried into parts of the Country where the expence of carrying it greatly exceeded the produce of it. However I presume the documents with which I have now requested to be furnished willfully explain this matter. I am etc.[44]

To GEORGE MASON

New York, July 6, 1789.

Sir: The indisposition of the President of the United States will not permit him to write; he has therefore directed me to acknowledge the receipt of your letter to him of the 19th. Ulto. in which you recommend Mr. Joseph Fenwick to be appointed

[44] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers.*

On July 4 Robert Lewis recorded in his diary that the President made an extemporaneous reply to an address from the New York State Society of the Cincinnati in the following words: "I beg you, gentlemen, to return my most Affectionate regards to the Society of the Cincinnati of the State of New York, and assure them, that I receive their congratulations on this auspicious day, with a mind constantly anxious for the honor and welfare of our country; and can only say, that the force of my abilities, aided by an integrity of heart, shall be studiously pointed to the support of its dignity, and the promotion of its Prosperity and happiness." From the original in the possession of Miss V. L. Mitchell, of Charles Town, W. Va.

Consul for the United States at Bourdeaux or Consul General for France, and to inform you that the establishment of Consuls has not yet been taken up by Congress, but whenever it is, and he's called upon by the Law to nominate persons to fill that Department, he shall endeavor to bring forward such, as, from every information and upon every consideration have the best pretensions and are best qualified to discharge the duties annexed to the office. This line of conduct in the case of nominations, he marked out to himself from the beginning and he has in no instance departed from it.

The President has moreover, directed me to observe to you, that if his memory does not deceive him, Mr. Bonifield[45] whom you mention to have acted as Consul in Bourdeaux was not, as you observe, a deputy of Mr. Barclay,[46] but appointed to that office by Doctr. Franklin, and he is spoken favorably of by Mr. Jefferson in his letters to Congress. However as Mr. Jefferson has obtained leave to return to America and will possibly soon be in this Country it is not likely that the establishment of Consuls will be taken up before his arrival when he will undoubtedly have it in his power to give some useful information on the subject. I am etc.[47]

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[45] John Bondfield.

[46] Thomas Barclay.

[47] This letter was signed by Lear, and is entered in the "Letter Book" in the *Washington Papers.*

On July 6 Washington acknowledged, briefly, the receipt from Capt. John Barry, of a list of the ships that were in Canton, China, in the last year. This letter is recorded in the "Letter Book" in the *Washington Papers.*

On this same day (July 6), Washington also wrote briefly to Rev. Uzal Ogden, thanking him for the first number of his new publication: "As I have not been able (from the multiplicity of business which has crowded upon me since my recovery) to peruse the work which you sent me, I cannot, with propriety give it that testimony of my approbation which you desire, and which I dare say it deserves." This letter is recorded in the "Letter Book."

On July 9 Washington answered an address from the General Court of Massachusetts, which was dated June 25. Both address and answer are recorded in the "Letter Book." Nearly all of the legislatures sent the President complimentary addresses in the years 1789 and 1790, to which formal replies were made. These, with the addresses, are entered in the "Letter Book" in the special volumes titled "Addresses and

To THE ACTING SECRETARY FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS

New York, July 14, 1789.

Dear Sir: I find myself incompetent to form any decided opinion upon the paper I received from you the other day without having a view of the transactions which have been had with the Spanish Minister.

I wish also to know whether, if the negotiations are renewed, it can be made to appear from anything that that Gentleman has said, as the result of an advance towards it from him, in his official character? Unless this is the case, and prima facie the reverse, will it not convey to him and his court an idea that a change of sentiment has taken place in the governing powers of this country? Will it be expedient and proper for the President (at this moment) to encourage such an idea? at any rate without previously advising with the Senate? With very sincere esteem etc.[48]

To GOVERNOR BEVERLEY RANDOLPH

New York, July 15, 1789.

Sir: I had the honor, last evening, to receive your Excellency's letter of the 6th. inst. enclosing one from the County Leiutenant of Green Briar on the subject of Indian affairs.

Answers"; but unless the answers are more than mere form letters, they are not printed in the *Writings of Washington*.

On July 10 an address from the directors of the Society of United Brethren for Propagating the Gospel Among the Heathen was sent to the President from Bethlehem, Pa. Washington replied to it and both address and reply are recorded in the "Letter Book." One paragraph of the reply stated: "In proportion as the general Government of the United States shall acquire strength by duration, it is probable they may have it in their power to extend a salutary influence to the Aborigines in the extremities of their Territory. In the meantime, it will be a desirable thing for the protection of the Union to co-operate, as far as circumstances may conveniently admit, with the disinterested endeavours of your Society to civilize and Christianize the Savages of the Wilderness." A facsimile of this answer is in the "Washington Photostats."

[48] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

When Congress have finished the necessary and important business which has occupied them since their first meeting, and in which they are now engaged, I shall seize the earliest moment to lay before them such information as I have received relative to the disputes with, and the depredations of the Indians on the several parts of our Western Frontiers; and doubt not but the subject will meet that immediate attention which it seems to deserve. With due consideration, I have the Honor, etc.[49]

[H. S. P.]

To THE ACTING POSTMASTER GENERAL[50]

New York, July 17, 1789.

Sir: I have received your letter of the 15th. Instant enclosing the Post Office Acts. in detail for the years 1784 and 1788. But there still remains one point on which I would wish to have further information. By the statement of the Produce and Expences of the Post office which accompanied your letter of the 27th. of June, there appears to have been an annual *Profit* arising from that Department, amounting in the whole to 39.985 Dollars. As it is not shewn, by any documents which you have sent me, whether this ballance has been lodged in the Treasury of the United States, or appropriated to the use of the Post Office Department, I shall therefore thank you for early and satisfactory information on this head. I am etc.

To ABRAHAM HUNT[51]

New York, July 20, 1789.

Sir: Being desirous of purchasing a number of good brood mares to send to Virginia, I have been advised by several Gentlemen to make application to you for this purpose, with assur-

[49] In the writing of Tobias Lear.
[50] Ebenezer Hazard was the holdover Acting Postmaster General.
[51] Of Trenton, N. J.

ances that I might depend upon your judgment and fidelity in the business.

I would wish to obtain from 10 to 20 good, likely, strong, and well made mares, none of which should exceed 6 years old, or be less than 15 hands high, unless their form and other good qualities would warrant a small deviation from this height. My object in procuring these mares is to raise mules from them by my Jack-Asses. It is therefore necessary that their form and strength should be peculiarly attended to.

My present object in writing to you is to request that you would inform me if mares of the above age and description can be obtained in your vicinity on reasonable terms; for I am not inclined to go to any extravagant prices in them, and to let me know, as near as may be what they can be had for per head, and what other expences, besides their first cost, would be incurred in procuring and sending them to Virginia.

You will be so good as to give me information on these points as soon as you can, that I may direct my enquiries to some other quarter if they should not succeed here. I am etc.[52]

To MATTHEW IRWIN[53]

New York, July 20, 1789.

Sir: I have received your letter of the 9th instant enclosing a letter from Captain O'Bryen,[54] giving a detail of the sufferings of himself and several other unfortunate Americans, who are slaves in Algiers, and requesting that some measures may be taken by the government for their redemption.

Mr. Jefferson, our minister at the court of France, has in view, among other objects, the redemption of these unfortunate men; but what advances he has made in it, or whether he will

[52] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers.*

[53] Of Philadelphia, Pa.

[54] Capt. Richard O'Bryen. He commanded the ship *Dauphin,* owned by Matthew and Thomas Irwin.

be able to accomplish it or not, for want of the means, I am unable at present to say.

I am not satisfied that it would be proper, as you suggest, for me to begin or bring forward a subscription among the merchants and others in the maritime towns of this country, to raise a fund for delivering these unhappy men from their state of bondage; but I would cheerfully give every aid in my power to accomplish this humane and benevolent purpose. I am &c.[55]

To JAMES JACKSON[56]

New York, July 22, 1789.

Sir: The President of the United States has directed me to return the enclosed letters to you, which he has perused, and likewise to inform you that he is now engaged in obtaining from the Secretary of the War and every other channel such information relative to the situation of Indian affairs as will enable him to form a just opinion thereon. I am etc.[57]

P. S. The President has this moment received advices from the Commissioners who have been appointed to treat with the Indians on the part of the United States, which inform him so far as he has examined them that matters are in a favorable train.[55]

*To CHARLES THOMSON

New York, July 24, 1789.

Sir: I have contemplated your Note, wherein, after mentioning your having served in quality of Secretary of Congress from the first meeting of that Body in 1774 to the present time, through an eventful period of almost fifteen years, you announce

[55] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

[56] Representative from Georgia.

[57] This letter is signed "T. Lear," and is entered in the "Letter Book" in the *Washington Papers*.

your wish to retire to private life: and I have to regret that the period of my coming again into public life, should be exactly that, in which you are about to retire from it.

The present age does so much justice to the unsullied reputation with which you have always conducted yourself in the execution of the duties of your Office, and Posterity will find your Name so honorably connected with the verification of such a multitude of astonishing facts, that my single suffrage would add little to the illustration of your merits. Yet I cannot withhold any just testimonial, in favor of so old, so faithful and so able a public officer, which might tend to soothe his mind in the shade of retirement. Accept, then, this serious Declaration, that your Services have been important, as your patriotism was distinguished; and enjoy that best of all rewards, the consciousness of having done your duty well.

You will be pleased, Sir, to deliver the Books, Records and Papers of the late Congress, the Great Seal of the Federal Union, and the Seal of the Admiralty, to Mr. Roger Alden,[58] the late Deputy Secretary of Congress; who is requested to take charge of them until farther directions shall be given. I beg you to be persuaded that it will always afford me real pleasure to extend whatever encouragement may be consistent with my general duties, to such particular Persons as have long been faithful and useful Servants to the Community. I finally commend you to the protection of Heaven, and sincerely wish you may enjoy every species of felicity.[59]

To DAVID STUART

New York, July 26, 1789.

Dear Sir: In the first moment of my ability to sit in an easy chair, and that not entirely without pain, I occupy myself in

[58] Principal clerk in the Department for Foreign Affairs.
[59] From the original in the *Thomson Papers* in the Library of Congress.

acknowledging the receipt, and thanking you for your letter of the 14th. instant.

Although my time (before I was confined) had been, and probably now will be much more engaged, yet your communications, without any reserve will be exceedingly grateful and pleasing to me. While the eyes of America, perhaps of the world, are turned to this government, and many are watching the movements of all those, who are concerned in its administration, I should like to be informed, through so good a medium of the public opinion of both men and measures, and of none more than myself; not so much of what may be thought commendable parts, if any, of my conduct, as of those which are conceived to be of a different complexion. The Man who means to commit no wrong, will never be guilty of enormities; consequently can never be unwilling to learn what is ascribed to him as foibles. If they are really such the knowledge of them in a well disposed mind will go half way towards a reform. If they are not errors he can explain and justify the motives of his actions.

At a distance from the theatre of action truth is not always related without embellishment, and sometimes is entirely perverted from a misconception of the causes which produce the effects that are the subjects of censure. 1. This leads me to think that a system which I found it indispensably necessary to adopt upon my first coming to this city, might have undergone severe strictures and have had motives very foreign from those that govern me assigned as causes therefor; I mean, returning *no* visits; 2. Appointing certain days to receive them generally (not to the exclusion however of visits on any other days under particular circumstances) and 3. at first entertaining no company, and afterwards until I was unable to entertain any at all confining it to official characters. A few days evinced the necessity

of the two first in so clear a point of view that, had I not adopted it, I should have been unable to have attended to *any* sort of business unless I had applied the hours allotted to rest and refreshment to this purpose for by the time I had done breakfast, and thence till dinner, and afterwards till bed time I could not get relieved from the ceremony of one visit before I had to attend to another; in a word, I had no leisure to read or to answer the dispatches that were pouring in upon me from all quarters; and with respect to the third matter I early received information through very respectable channels that the adoption thereof was not less essential [than] that of the other two if the President was to preserve the dignity and respect that was due to the first Magistrate, for that a contrary conduct had involved the late Presidents of Congress in insuperable difficulties, and the office (in this respect) in perfect contempt. for the table was considered as a public one, and every person, who could get introduced, conceived that he had a *right* to be invited to it. This, although the Table was always crowded (and with mixed company, and the President considered in no better light than as a Maitre d'Hôtel) was in its nature impracticable and as many offences given as if no table had been kept.

The citizens of this place were well knowing to this fact, and the principal Members of Congress in both Houses were so well convinced of the impropriety and degrading situation of their President, that it was the general opinion that the President of the United States should neither give or receive invitations. Some from a belief, (independent of the circumstances I have mentioned) that this was fundamentally right in order to acquire respect. But to this I had two objections, both powerful in my mind; first, the novelty of it I knew would be considered as an ostentatious shew of mimicry of sovereignty; and secondly that so great a seclusion would have stopped the avenues

to useful information from the many, and make me more dependent on that of the few; but to hit on a discriminating medium was found more difficult than it appeared to be at first view. for if the Citizens at large were begun upon no line could be drawn, all of decent appearance would expect to be invited, and I should have been plunged at once into the evil I was endeavoring to avoid. Upon the whole, it was thought best to confine *my* invitations to official characters and strangers of distinction. This line I have hitherto pursued; whether it may be found best to adhere to or depart from it in some measure must be the result of experience and information.

So strongly had the citizens of this place imbibed an idea of the impropriety of my accepting invitations to dinner that I have not received one from any family (though they are remarkable for hospitality, and though I have received every civility and attention possible from them) since I came to the city except dining with the Governor on the day of my arrival, so that, if this should be adduced as an article of impeachment there can be at least *one* good reason adduced for my not dining out; to wit never having been asked to do so.

One of the Gentlemen, whose name is mentioned in your letter, though high toned has never, I believe, appeared with more than *two* horses in his carriage[60]; but it is to be lamented that *he* and *some others* have stirred a question which has given rise to so much animadversion, and which I confess has given

[60] Stuart had written (July 14): "I have been much concerned at the clamor and abuse against him[Vice President Adams]. . . . The Opponents to the government affect to smile at it, and consider it as a verification of their prophecies about the tendency of the government. Mr. Henry's description of it, that it squinted towards monarchy, is in every mouth, and has established him in the general opinion, as a true Prophet. It has given me much pleasure to hear every part of your conduct spoke of, with high approbation, and particularly your dispensing with ceremony occasionally, and walking the streets; while Adams is never seen but in his carriage and six. As trivial as this may appear, it appears to be more captivating to the generality, than matters of more importance . . . an error of judgment, is more easily pardoned, than one of the heart." Stuart's letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

me much uneasiness lest it should be supposed by some (unacquainted with facts) that the object they had in view was not displeasing to me. The truth is the question was moved before I arrived, without any privity or knowledge of it on my part, and urged after I was apprized of it contrary to my opinion; for I foresaw and predicted the reception it has met with, and the use that would be made of it by the adversaries of the government. Happily the matter is now done with, I hope never to be revived.[61]

[The opposition of the Senate to the discrimination in the Tonnage Bill, was so adverse to my ideas of justice and policy, that, I should have suffered it to have passed into a Law without my signature, had I not been assured by some members of that body, that they were preparing another Bill which would answer the purpose more effectually without being liable to the objections, and to the consequences which they *feared* would have attended the discrimination which was proposed in the Tonnage Law. Why they keep their doors shut, when acting in a Legislative capacity, I am unable to inform you; unless it is because they think there is too much speaking to the Gallery in the other House, and business thereby retarded.

Your letter is the first intimation *I ever* received of any defect in the title, or of any claim to the Land called Claibornes. It is hardly to be conceived that Philip Whitehead Claiborne, who was the brother (and as you say Executor) to William Claiborne, for the payment of whose debts it was sold, shd. have

[61] On April 23, the day after Washington arrived at New York but before his inauguration, a committee of the Senate was appointed, consisting of Richard Henry Lee, Ralph Izard, and Tristram Dalton, to report "what style or titles it will be proper to annex to the offices of President and Vice President of the United States." Dr. David Stuart, writing to Washington, July 14, said: "Nothing could equal the ferment and disquietude occasioned by the proposition respecting titles. As it is believed to have originated from Mr. Adams and Lee, they are not only unpopular to an extreme, but highly odious. Neither I am convinced, will ever get a vote from this State again." The matter aroused considerable, excited discussion in the country, but as no definite step was taken it gradually faded from the public mind.

joined in the Conveyance of land to which he himself had a right, by Entail. Admit this, and bad motives must be ascribed to the action; viz. a knowledge that his Son, if the Entail was good, would not be barred by his Conveyance (if no Act of Assembly or Writ of Ad quadamnum had previously docked it.) Such a suspicion I cannot harbour of that Gentleman, because he always supported a fair character. To the best of my recollection, there are some papers in the Garret at Mount Vernon which belong to the Estate of Mr. Custis; in making a hasty arrangement of my own, I came across them, and had them put into a Trunk or box by themselves; from a cursory inspection, they appeared altogether unimportant, or I should have sent them to you; and in another Trunk in my study there are Papers which relate to my accts. and transactions with that Estate, possibly (for I do not think it probable) you may find something in one or the other of them that may be useful. If in the first, I wish, if they are deserving of the Carriage, you would take them home; the others may be necessary for my own security; and therefore I would not have them removed. The decree of King William's Court will not, I fear, avail much; for I do not conceive that it could extend (if there was an Entail in force) beyond the life of William Claiborne, if then living, or that P. W. Claiborne's act could bind his Son. Your trouble in this, and the other disputes in which the Estate is involved, will I perceive be very great. That your success may be equal thereto, I sincerely wish. We shall be anxious after the decisions to learn the result.

I am much mistaken if I did not in the year 1778 convey both the King William and King and Queen Lands to Mr. Custis by Deeds executed at Camp before Colos. Harrison, Mead, and many others as witnesses to prove it in the General Court; and this in the presence of Mr. Custis. If it was not recorded for want of due proof, I am ready to re-acknowledge the same Deed, or a

copy of it, for I recollect pretty well taking the opinion of Colo. Harrison upon the nature of the Conveyance; and if my memory has not failed me, you will find some mention of the matter in one of my letters to Mr. Custis, now in your possession, which you called upon me sometime ago to authenticate.

Mr. Dandridge gave me an order upon Mr. Brown (of Kentucky) for £800, to be applied if received, to the credit of Mr. Custis's Estate; but the order was protested, and Mr. Dandridge has been advertised thereof.

Nothing would give me more pleasure than to serve any of the descendants of General Nelson, of whose merits when living, no man could entertain a higher opinion than I did; at the sametime I must confess, there are few persons of whom I have *no* personal knowledge, or good information, that I would take into my family, qualified for the duties of which; many things are requisite, to wit, a good address, abilities above mediocrity, secresy and prudence, attention and industry, good temper, and a capacity and disposition to write correctly and well, and to do it obligingly.

Most Clerkships will, I presume, either by Law or custom, be left to the appointmt. of their principals; little expectation therefore could Mr. Nelson or any stranger have from this source. This latter consideration added to the desire I feel of serving the son of my old friend and acquaintance, has enduced me, at all hazards, to offer Mr. Thos. Nelson (his Son) a place in my family.

I shall not trouble you with Legislative, or any other details that are recited in the Public Gazettes; but I have sent you the Journals of the Senate as far as they have been published and handed to me. If the Successor of Mr. Richards[62] would get the

[62] George Richards. He was publisher of *The Virginia Journal and Alexandria Advertiser,* Alexandria, and was succeeded by Samuel Hanson and Thomas Bond. who changed the title to *The Virginia Gazette and Alexandria Advertiser.*

Federal Gazette (Published by Mr. Fenno)[63] from this City, it would enable him to collect all the transactions, and news of this theatre. My best wishes in which Mrs. Washington and all around me join, attend Mrs. Stuart yourself and all the family, and I am etc.][64]

To BUSHROD WASHINGTON

New York, July 27, 1789.

Dear Bushrod: Among the first acts of my recommencing business (after lying six weeks on my right side) is that of writing you this letter in acknowledgment of yours of the ultimo. Not being fairly on my seat yet, or in other words not being able to sit up without feeling some uneasiness, it must be short.

You cannot doubt my wishes to see you appointed to any office of honor or emolument in the new government, to the duties of which you are competent; but however deserving you may be of the one you have suggested, your standing at the bar would not justify my nomination of you as Attorney to the Federal district Court in preference of some of the oldest, and most esteemed General Court Lawyers in your own State, who are desirous of this appointment. My political conduct in nominations, even if I was uninfluenced by principle, must be exceedingly circumspect and proof against just criticism, for the eyes of Argus are upon me, and no slip will pass unnoticed that can be improved into a supposed partiality for friends or relatives. I am etc.[65]

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[63] John Fenno. He published the *Gazette of the United States*.

[64] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*. The part in brackets is from a photostat of that much of the original in the writing of Washington in the possession (1932) of W. S. Johns and Cornelia Johns Grice, of Norfolk, Va.

[65] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

*To THOMAS NELSON

New York, July 27, 1789.

Sir: The sincere regard I had for your very worthy, deceased father, induces me to offer you a place in my family. How convenient and agreeable it may be for you to accept the offer,[66] is with you to determine; and that you may be the better enabled to judge, I shall inform you that the emoluments will be about six hundred dollars pr. ann., and the expences trifling as your board, lodging and washing (as also that of your Servant if you bring one) will be in the family. Horses if you keep any must be at your own expence because there will be no public occasion for them.

The duties that will be required of you, are, generally, to assist in writing, receiving and entertaining company, and in the discharge of such other matters as is not convenient or practicable for the President to attend to in person. Whether you accept this offer or not I should be glad to hear from you as soon as it is conveniently possible because there are a number of Gentlemen who are anxiously desirous of this appointment but whose applications will remain undecided on until I receive an answer from you.

With best respects to your good Mother in which Mrs. Washington joins me I am with great esteem and regard Sir, Your etc.[67]

To SIR EDWARD NEWENHAM

New York, July 29, 1789.

Dear Sir: Since my arrival in this city I have had the pleasure to receive a letter from you, but you will do me the justice to

[66] Nelson's letter of August 13, accepting the offer, is in the *Washington Papers*.

[67] From a photostat of the original kindly furnished by George A. Ball, of Muncie, Ind. The "Letter Book" copy of this letter dates it August 3.

believe that my numerous avocations, and encreasing duties have been such as to form some apology for want of punctuality in my private correspondencies.

The immediate object of this letter is to introduce to your acquaintance and civilities Mrs. Montgomery, a Lady of a very respectable family in this country, and the Widow of a very distinguished Officer, who sacrificed his life in support of the liberties of America; But I may be allowed to say if Mrs. Montgomery was not a Descendant of the ancient and opulent family of the Livingstons, who have always been the strenuous Advocates of freedom, or the edict of the intelligent and brave General Montgomery, whose name will be immortal; yet her personal merits would entitle her to every attention and respect, which are usually shewn to Strangers of distinction in the hospitable kingdom of Ireland.

I have only leisure to add, that the prospect of the prosperity of this country, under the influence of the new General Government, continues to excite the most pleasing sensations in every patriotic breast and that I am etc.[68]

To RICHARD HENRY LEE

New York, August 2, 1789.

Dear Sir: The extreme hurry in which I have been for several days, to compare the merits and pretentions of the several applicants for appointments under the Revenue in order that the nominations[69] might speedily follow the passing of the Collection Bill has prevented my acknowledging the receipt of your favor of the 27th Ultimo before.

[68] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

[69] The complete list of nominations for collectors, naval officers, and surveyors of customs was sent to the Senate by the President, August 3, and is printed in the *Executive Journal*, vol. 1.

Mr. Charles Lee will certainly be brought forward as Collector for the port of Alexandria; but for the reason you have assigned, and from a persuasion that Mr. Thos. Lee has entertained an erroneous opinion of the emoluments of the Office at Dumfries I think it would be best for Scott[70] to go there which will give poor Hanson[71] (who is worthy of something better, if with propriety it could be given to him) the Surveyorship at Alexandria. As I am perfectly unacquainted with the Port of Yeocomico, and of the Characters living there, I would thank you for naming a fit person as a Collector for that district, on or before 1 Oclock tomorrow.

I thought you looked badly the other day, but not having heard of your indisposition I said nothing, I hope your health is quite restored.

I am unable to sit yet but on soft cushings but have the Doctors assurances that a few days more will relieve me from the inconvenience I labor under at present on that account. I am etc.[72]

*To JAMES MADISON

August 5, 1789.

My dear Sir: I want to communicate two matters to Congress;[73] the substance of which is contained in the enclosed Paper. The first requires to be decided upon before the proposed adjournment shall take place; but my motive for communicating

[70] Richard Marshall Scott.

[71] Samuel Hanson.

[72] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

On August 4 Washington replied to an address from the New York Legislature, dated July 15. Both the address and the reply are entered in the "Letter Book" in the *Washington Papers*. The original of Washington's reply is in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

[73] On the mode of communicating with the Senate respecting treaties and nominations. (See Sentiments Expressed to the Senate Committee, etc., under date of Aug. 8, 1789, *post*.)

the other, at this time, is only to fix the attention, and to promote enquiry against the next meeting.

Whether would an Oral or written communication be best?

If the first what mode is to be adopted to effect it?

I would thank you, my good Sir, for amending the enclosed address, if you have leizure, by adding to, or striking out such parts as you may think had better be expunged. I am etc.

[H. L.]

To THE SENATE

August 6, 1789.

Gentlemen of the Senate: My nomination of *Benjamin Fishbourn* for the place of Naval Officer of the Port of Savannah not having met your concurrence, I now nominate *Lachlan McIntosh* for that place. Whatever may have been the reasons which induced your dissent, I am persuaded they were such as you deemed sufficient. Permit me to submit to your consideration, whether on occasions, where the propriety of nominations appear questionable to you, it would not be expedient to communicate that circumstance to me, and thereby avail yourselves of the information which led me to make them, and which I would with pleasure lay before you. Probably my reasons for nominating Mr. Fishbourn may tend to shew that such a mode of proceeding in such cases might be useful. I will therefore detail them.

First. While Colonel Fishbourn was an Officer in actual service, and chiefly under my own Eye, his conduct appeared to me irreproachable; nor did I ever hear anything injurious to his reputation as an Officer or a Gentleman. At the Storm of Stony Point, his behaviour was represented to have been active, and brave, and he was charged by his General to bring the account of that success to the Head Quarters of the Army.

Secondly. Since his residence in Georgia he has been repeatedly elected to the Assembly as a Representative of the County of Chatham in which the Port of Savannah is situated, and some times of the Counties of Glynn and Camden; he has been chosen a Member of the Executive Council of the State and has been lately President of the same; he has been elected by the Officers of the Militia in the county of Chatham Lieutenant Colonel of the Militia in that district, and on a very recent occasion, to wit, in the month of May last, he has been appointed by the Council (on the suspension of the late Collector) to an Office in the Port of Savannah, nearly similar to that for which I nominated him, which Office he actually holds at this time. To these reasons for nominating Mr. Fishbourn, I might add that I received private letters of recommendation, and oral testimonials in his favor, from several of the most respectable characters in that State: but as they were, secondary considerations with me, I do not think it necessary to communicate them to you. It appears therefore to me that Mr. Fishbourn must have enjoyed the *confidence* of the militia Officers in order to have been elevated to a military rank; the *confidence* of the Freemen to have been elected to the Assembly; the *confidence* of the Assembly to have been selected for the Council; and the *confidence* of the Council to have been appointed Collector of the Port of Savannah.[74]

To THE SENATE AND THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

United States, August 7, 1789.

The Business which has hitherto been under the consideration of Congress has been of so much importance that I was

[74] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

unwilling to draw their attention from it to any other subject. But the disputes which exist between some of the United States and several powerful tribes of Indians within the limits of the Union, and the hostilities which have in several instances been committed on the frontiers, seem to require the immediate interposition of the general Government. I have therefore directed the several statements and papers, which have been submitted to me on this subject by General Knox to be laid before you for your information. While the measures of Government ought to be calculated to protect its Citizens from all injury and violence, a due regard should be extended to those Indians whose happiness in the course of events so materially depends on the national justice and humanity of the United States. If it should be the judgment of Congress, that it would be most expedient to terminate all differences in the Southern District, and to lay the foundation for future confidence by an amicable Treaty with the Indian Tribes in that quarter I think proper to suggest the consideration of the expediency of instituting a temporary Commission for that purpose, to consist of three persons whose authority should expire with the occasion. How far such a measure unassisted by Posts, would be competent to the establishment and preservation of peace and tranquility on the frontiers, is also a matter which merits your serious consideration.

Along with this object I am induced to suggest another, with the national importance and necessity of which I am deeply impressed; I mean some uniform and effective system for the Militia of the United States. It is unnecessary to offer arguments in recommendation of a measure, on which the honor, safety and well being of our Country so evidently and essentially depend: But it may not be amiss to observe that I am particularly anxious it should receive an early attention as

circumstances will admit; because it is now in our power to avail ourselves of the military knowledge disseminated throughout the several States by means of the many well instructed Officers and soldiers of the late Army; a resource which is daily diminishing by deaths and other causes. To suffer this peculiar advantage to pass away unimproved, would be to neglect an Opportunity which will never again occur, unless unfortunately we should again be involved in a long and arduous War.[75]

SENTIMENTS EXPRESSED TO THE SENATE COMMITTEE[76] ON THE MODE OF COMMUNICATION BETWEEN THE PRESIDENT AND THE SENATE ON TREATIES AND NOMINATIONS

August 8, 1789.

In all matters respecting Treaties, oral communications seem indispensably necessary; because in these a variety of matters are contained, all of which not only require consideration, but some of them may undergo much discussion; to do which by written communications would be tedious without being satisfactory.

Oral communications may be proper also for discussing the propriety of sending Representatives to foreign Courts, and ascertaining the Grade or character in which they are to appear and may be so in other cases.

But it may be asked *where* are these oral communications to be made? If in the Senate Chamber, how are the President and Vice President to be arranged? The latter by the Constitution being ex-officio President of the Senate. Would the Vice President be disposed to give up the Chair? if not Ought the President of the United States to be placed in an awkward

[75] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.
[76] Ralph Izard, Rufus King, and Charles Carroll.

situation when there? These are matters which require previous consideration and adjustment for meetings in the Senate Chamber or elsewhere.

With respect to Nominations

My present Ideas are that as they point to a single object unconnected in its nature with any other object, they had best be made by written messages. In this case the Acts of the President, and the Acts of the Senate will stand upon clear, distinct and responsible ground.

Independent of this consideration, it could be no pleasing thing I conceive, for the President, on the one hand to be present and hear the propriety of his nominations questioned; nor for the Senate on the other hand to be under the smallest restraint from his presence from the fullest and freest inquiry into the Character of the Person nominated. The President in a situation like this would be reduced to one of two things: either to be a silent witness of the decision by Ballot, if there are objections to the nomination; or in justification thereof (if he should think it right) to support it by argument. Neither of which might be agreeable; and the latter improper; for as the President has a right to nominate without assigning his reasons, so has the Senate a right to dissent without giving theirs.[77]

*To JAMES MADISON

Sunday, August 9, 1789.

My dear Sir: Consequent of the enclosed resolution, I had a conference with the Comee. therein named yesterday, when I expressed the Sentiments which you also have enclosed.

[77] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers.*

I was assured by the Committee, that the only object the Senate had in view was to be informed of the mode of communication which would be most agreeable to the President, and that a perfect acquiescence would be yielded thereto. But I could plainly perceive notwithstanding, that oral communications was the point they aimed at. Indeed one of the Gentlemen candidly declared that a great object with him, for wishing this, was, to effect a viva voce vote in that body (he added however that he was not without hopes of accomplishing this without). To this I replied, finding all three were opposed to the ballotting system, that nothing would sooner induce me to relinquish my mode of nominating by written messages, than to accomplish this end. Thus the matter stands for my further consideration.

What do you think I had best do? I am willing to pursue that line of conduct which shall appear to be most conducive to the public good, without regard to the indulgence of my own inclination which (I confess, and for other reasons in addition to those which are enumerated, although they are secondary) would not be gratified by personal nominations.

The period is now arrived when the Seat of the vacant judge in the Western district is to be filled. Would Colo. Carrington do you think, be pleased with this appointment? or are you acquainted with any professional character of fitness for the Office, South of New Jersey, that would accept it.

I have had some conversation with Mr. Jay respecting his views to Office, which I will communicate to you at our first interview; and this, if *perfectly* convenient and agreeable to you, may be this afternoon as I shall be at home, and *expect* no Compy. I am etc.[78]

[78] The original is in the possession of the Mount Vernon Ladies' Association of the Union.

To THE SENATE

United States, August 10, 1789.

I have directed a statement of the Troops in the service of the United States to be laid before you for your information.

These troops were raised by virtue of the resolves of Congress of the 20th. of October 1784 and of the 3d. of October 1787,[79] in order to protect the frontiers from the depredations of the hostile Indians, to prevent all intrusions on the public Lands, and to facilitate the surveying and selling of the same, for the purpose of reducing the public debt.

As these important objects continue to require the aid of the Troops, it is necessary that the establishment thereof should in all respects, be conformed by Law, to the Constitution of the United States.[80]

To WILSON MILES CARY

New York, August 10, 1789.

Dear Sir: I have received your very obliging and Affectionate letter of the 19th. Ulto. and can assure you that no circumstance, amidst the numerous occurences of my New and arduous employment, has given me more heartfelt satisfaction than the repeated testimonies of approbation which my conduct in accepting the Presidency of these United States has drawn from every quarter, and particularly from those who I trust, know me well enough to do justice to the motives which induced me once more to embark on the Ocean of public life. Among those of the latter description I must rank you, my dear Sir; and must

[79] A bill "to recognize and adapt to the Constitution of the United States the establishment of the troops" raised under the above-mentioned resolves was passed Sept. 28, 1789.

[80] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

beg your acceptance of my best thanks for your good wishes and kind gratulations on the recovery of my health. Mr. Brough whom you mention to have been the Searcher at Hampton and recommended as a person suitable to fill an Office in the customs, could not, consistently; be brought into office; for the Law established but one Office at Hampton which, agreeably to the general rule which I had prescribed to myself in the nominations, is filled by Mr. Jacob Wray the former Naval Officer there. You will, therefore have the goodness to believe that his not having been put in office did not proceed from a want of faith in your recommendation, but from an adherence to that justice and impartiality which the *Public* demands, and from which I hope I shall never intentionally depart. I am etc.[81]

SENTIMENTS EXPRESSED TO THE SENATE COMMITTEE AT A SECOND CONFERENCE ON THE MODE OF COMMUNICATION BETWEEN THE PRESIDENT AND THE SENATE ON TREATIES AND NOMINATIONS[82]

August 10, 1789.

The President has the "power by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties and to appoint Officers."

The Senate when these powers are exercised, is evidently a Council only to the President, however its concurrence may be to his Acts. It seems incident to this relation between them, that not only the *time* but the *place* and manner of consultation should be with the President. It is probable that the place may vary. The indisposition or inclination of the President may require, that the Senate should be summoned to the President's

[81] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

[82] On August 21 the Senate passed a resolution establishing the procedure and form of these meetings with the President, which resolve is copied into the "Letter Book" immediately following these "Sentiments."

House. Whenever the Government shall have buildings of its own, an executive Chamber will no doubt be provided, where the Senate will generally attend the President. It is not impossible that the place may be made to depend in some degree on the nature of the business. In the appointment to offices, the agency of the Senate is purely executive, and they may be summoned to the President. In treaties, the agency is perhaps as much of a legislative nature and the business may possibly be referred to their deliberations in their legislative chamber. The occasion for this distinction will be lessened, if not destroyed, when a chamber shall be appropriated for the joint business of the President and the Senate.

The *manner* of consultation may also vary. The indisposition of the President may supersede the mere question of conveniency. The inclination or ideas of different Presidents may be different. The opinions both of President and Senators as to the proper manner may be changed by experience. In some kinds of business it may be found best for the President to make his propositions orally and in person, in others by written message. On some occasions it may be most convenient that the President should attend the deliberations and decisions on his propositions; on others that he should not; or that he should not attend the whole of the time. In other cases again, as in Treaties of a complicated nature, it may happen that he will send his propositions in writing and consult the Senate in person after time shall have been allowed for consideration. Many other varieties may be suggested as to the *mode,* by practice.

If these remarks be just, it would seem not amiss, that the Senate should accommodate their rules to the uncertainty of the particular mode and place that may be preferred; providing for the reception of either oral written propositions, and for giving their consent and advice in either the *presence* or *absence*

of the President, leaving him free to use the mode and place that may be found most eligible and accordant with other business which may be before him at the time.[83]

To PIERCE BUTLER[84]

New York, August 10, 1789.

Sir: I thank you for giving me the perusal of the enclosed letters. The business respecting the Indians is now before Congress. It would be well if the information concerning fugitive Negro's could come forward specifically. Judge Drayton's[85] name shall be placed among those who will come under consideration when nominations for the Judiciary are taken up, and I am etc.[83]

To BENJAMIN LINCOLN

New York, August 11, 1789.

Dear Sir: On the 15th of September next there is to be a treaty held in the State of Georgia, between the Indians on the Southern frontiers and commissioners on the part of Georgia. At this treaty there will be a numerous and respectable concourse of Indians, two, and some say to the number of three thousand. Their famous Counsellor, the noted McGillvray[86] is to be present at it; and it is now in agitation, and a bill is before the House of representatives for that purpose, to appoint Commissioners on the part of the United States to attend at this treaty to establish a permanent and lasting peace between the United States and the Indians on our Southern and Western frontiers. It is necessary, in a matter of such importance to this Country, that

[83] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.
[84] Senator from South Carolina.
[85] William Drayton.
[86] Alexander McGillivary. He was the son of a Tory and a Creek woman. Georgia had confiscated his estate during the Revolutionary War.

these Commissioners should be persons who have been known in public life, and who are very respectable characters; and if to these two circumstances could be added, their being held in high estimation in the Southern States, without being inhabitants of them, it would be a very desirable thing. Under these circumstances, it is my wish that you should be one of these commissioners;[87] and I have therefore given you this early intimation of the matter that you might, (if the matter in agitation comes to issue, and is agreeable to you and can be made to comport with your present Office) be making such arrangements as will enable you to be at New York and ready to embark for Georgia, on or before the first day of September; and with an expectation of being absent three or four Months.

You will make up your mind on this matter and give me an answer by the first post after you receive this, as you see no time is to be lost; for it is absolutely necessary that the Commissioners should be on the spot the 15th. of September to prevent the enormous expense which would be incurred by detaining such a numerous body of Indians for any time. In the meantime you will keep this intimation to yourself, for in the first place it is not *certain* that Commissioners will be appointed; and if they should other circumstances might render a concealment of this intimation proper. I am &c.[88]

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[87] On August 20 Washington nominated Lincoln as one of these Commissioners. "My reason for nominating him at this early moment, is that it will not be possible for the public to avail itself of his services on this occasion, unless his appointment can be forwarded to him by the Mail, which will leave this place tomorrow morning." This message is recorded in the "Letter Book" in the *Washington Papers*. The Senate confirmed Lincoln that same day.

[88] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

On August 12 Tobias Lear wrote to John Taylor Gilman, one of the Commissioners for settling the accounts of the United States with the individual States, granting him, by direction of the President, leave of absence for three weeks. This letter is recorded in the "Letter Book."

On August 15 Washington wrote briefly to Arthur Young, sending him "a sample of the wool produced by my sheep . . . a fleece of a middling quality." It was sent in the care of Wakelin Welch & Son. This letter is recorded in the "Letter Book."

To WAKELIN WELCH & SON

New York, August 16, 1789.

Gentlemen: I will thank you to forward the enclosed letter to Messrs. Fenwick, Mason & Co.,[89] merchants in Bourdeaux, by the earliest conveyance.

I have requested the above Gentlemen to send me Twenty six dozen of claret and the same quantity of champagne (if the latter can be had of the best quality at Bourdeaux)[90] and have directed them to draw upon you at 30 days sight for the cost and charges of the before mentioned quantity, you will therefore be so good as to answer their drafts for that amount, and charge the same to the account of Gentlemen, Your etc.

P. S. I will thank you to send me by the first vessel, which sails for New York, a terrestrial globe of the largest dimensions and of the most accurate and approved kind now in use.[91]

To THOMAS RANDALL, AUGUSTINE LAWRENCE, AND WILLIAM HEYER[92]

New York, August 18, 1789.

Gentlemen: As the period has arrived, when the United States were to make provision for keeping up the proper supplies for the Light Houses in different Ports, and as the Treasury Department has not yet been organized so as to carry that

[89] This letter is recorded in the "Letter Book" in the *Washington Papers* under date of August 18.

[90] On August 25 Washington wrote to Fenwick, Mason & Co., cancelling the champagne item as "I have been informed that Bourdeaux is not the place where champagne wine can be furnished on the best terms, or from whence it is usually shipped." He substituted "12 dozen of vin de Grave" in place of the champagne.

On August 25, also, he wrote of the change of order to Wakelin Welch & Co. These letters are recorded in the "Letter Book."

[91] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

[92] Wardens of the Port of New York.

arrangement into effect; I must desire that you will still continue the superintendence of the Light House in this Port, keeping an exact account of the expences which may be incurred for that purpose; and which will be reembursed by the Treasurer of the United States, as soon as such an officer shall be appointed. He will also be authorized to take the management of the business into his hands and to make the necessary contracts accordingly. I am etc.[93]

To COMFORT SAGE

New York, August 18, 1789.

Sir: I received your letter dated the 31st. of July, a few days after the nominations in the Revenue Department had been made; and your other letter of the 8th. instant has just been put into my hands. In consequence of these letters, it is but right I should inform you, that my not having received any immediate application from you, expressive of your readiness to fill the office, was the reason why you was not nominated Surveyor for the Port of Middletown; and that it was not owing to any unfavorable representations respecting your reputation. On the other hand, Mr. Miller's wishes were made known to me *in season;* and his character represented to be such as would undoubtedly secure, in a person who had thus declared himself to be ready to accept the office, a proper execution of the duties of it. You may be assured, therefore, my only object was to have the public business put into a train of being performed with certainty.

I hope, Sir, from this statement of facts, you will do me the justice to believe that I was far from designing to do anything disagreeable or prejudicial to you; and that I am etc.[93]

[93] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers.*

To CYRUS GRIFFIN

New York, August 18, 1789.

Sir: I think it expedient to acknowledge the receipt of your two notes, dated the 10th. of July and the 14th. of August,[94] for the purpose of assuring you that there was certainly nothing improper in the tenor of them. But it will be an instance of Justice to inform you, at the sametime, that, without considering myself at liberty to give either encouragement or discouragement to the wishes of Gentlemen who have offered themselves as Candidates for offices, I have invariably avoided giving any sentiment or opinion; for the purpose of reserving myself unembarrassed with promises until all the Candidates are known and the occasion, when decision shall become necesary on my part.

In the meantime, I pray you to be persuaded that in all personal and private considerations, I am etc.[95]

To BENJAMIN LINCOLN

New York, August 20, 1789.

Dear Sir: I informed you on the 11th. Inst. that a Bill was before the House to provide for the expences that might attend

[94] Griffin's notes are in the *Applications for Office under Washington* in the Library of Congress. In them he requested an appointment in the diplomatic service or to the Supreme Court.

[95] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

The general convention of bishops, clergy, and laity of the Protestant Episcopal Church in New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina delivered an address to the President at this approximate time which, together with Washington's reply, is entered in the "Letter Book" in the *Washington Papers*. In that reply Washington stated that "human happiness and moral duty are inseparably connected" and that "It affords edifying prospects indeed to see Christians of different denominations dwell together in more charity, and conduct themselves in respect to each other with a more christian-like spirit than ever they have done in any former age, or in any other Nation." Sparks prints this reply as of August 19; but both address and reply are undated in the "Letter Book."

the Treaties and Negotiations to be made with the Indian Tribes, and for the appointment of Commissioners to be employed in the same.[96]

This Bill has to day passed into a Law, and in consequence thereof I have nominated, and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, have appointed you one of the three Commissioners to be employ'd in negotiating a treaty with the Southern Indians. Should you accept of this appointment it will be *absolutely necessary* for you to set off for this place immediately on the receipt of this letter; for, as I mentioned in my last, the Treaty is to be held in Georgia at the rock landing on the Ogeeche River the 15th of Septr., and the Commissioners *must* leave this place on or before the first day of September in order to be upon the spot on the day appointed. The propriety of this punctuality will be obvious upon a consideration of the great expence which will be incurred by detaining so large a Body of Indians as will probably attend this treaty, longer than is necessary to transact the business of the Treaty. A Vessel will be provided here to carry the Commissioners and everything requisite in the business to Georgia. The other Commissioners are not yet appointed, but they will undoubtedly be such Characters as will comport with the respectability and importance of the Commission. If you have a suit of Regimentals it may be well to take them with you.

8 Oclock P. M. I have this moment received your letter of the 16th. instant and am happy to find that the business of your office[97] is in so favorable a train as you mention, and that you can leave it for a few months without inconvenience and come on *immediately* I am etc.[98]

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[96] On August 21 Cyrus Griffin and David Humphreys were nominated in a message to the Senate, which is recorded in the "Letter Book" in the *Washington Papers*. They were confirmed the same day.

[97] Collector of the port of Boston, Mass.

[98] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

To WALTER STEWART

New York, August 21, 1789.

Sir: Your letter of the 15th. Instant containing observations upon the organization and discipline of the Militia of the United States has been duly received; and you will please to accept of my thanks for your communications on this subject.

In reply to your application for the appointment of Inspector of the Militia of the District of Pennsylvania, I can only say, as I have done upon every other occasion of a similar nature, that I hold myself free to bring forward such Characters as I shall, upon every consideration, think best qualified and have the best pretensions to fill offices, whenever I may be called upon, by law, to nominate persons for offices which are thereby established. I am etc.[99]

To THE SENATE

[August 22, 1789.]

To conciliate the powerful tribes of Indians in the Southern District amounting probably to fourteen thousand fighting men, and to attach them firmly to the United States, may be regarded as highly worthy of the serious attention of Government. The measure includes not only peace and security to the whole Southern frontier, but is calculated to form a barrier against the Colonies of an European power, which in the mutations of policy may one day become the Enemy of the United States. The fate of the Southern States therefore, or the neighboring Colonies may principally depend on the present measures of the Union towards the Southern Indians. By the papers which have been laid before the Senate it will appear that in

[99] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

the latter end of the year 1785 and the beginning of 1786 treaties were formed by the United States with the Cherokees, Chickasaws and Choktaws. The report of the Commissioners will shew the reasons why a treaty was not found at the sametime with the Creeks. It will also appear by the Papers that the States of North Carolina and Georgia protested against said Treaties as infringing upon their legislative rights and being contrary to the Confederation. It will further appear by the said papers that the treaty with the Cherokees has been entirely violated by the disorderly white people on the frontiers of North Carolina. The opinion of the late Congress respecting the said violation will sufficiently appear by the proclamation which they caused to be issued on the first of September 1788. It appears by the public newspapers that on the 16th of June last, a trust was concluded with the Cherokees by Mr. John Steele on behalf of the State of North Carolina in which it was stipulated that a Treaty should be held as soon as possible and that in the meantime all hostilities should cease on either side. As the Cherokees reside principally within the Territory claimed by the North Carolina and as that State is not a Member of the present Union, it may be doubted whether any efficient measures in favor of the Cherokees could be immediately adopted by the general Government. The Commissioners for negociating with the Southern Indians may be instructed to transmit a message to the Cherokees, stating to them as far as may be proper, the difficulties arising from the local claims of North Carolina and to assure them that the United States are not unmindful of the Treaty at Hopewell and as soon as the difficulties which are at present opposed to the measure, shall be removed, the Government will do full justice to the Cherokees.

The distance of the Choctaws and Chickasaw from the frontier settlements seems to have prevented their tribes from being involved in similar difficulties with the Cherokees.

The Commissioners may be instructed to transmit messages to the said Tribes containing assurances of the continuance of the friendship of the United States and that measures will soon be taken for extending a Trade to them agreeably to the Treaties of Hopewell. The Commissioners may also be directed to report a plan for the execution of the said Treaties respecting Trade.

But the Case of the Creek Nation is of the highest importance and requires an immediate decision. The Cause of the hostilities between Georgia and the Creeks is stated to be a difference in judgment concerning three treaties made between the said parties, to wit at Augusta 1783, at Galphinston in 1785 and at Shoulder bone in 1786. The State of Georgia assert, and the Creeks deny the validity of the said Treaties. Hence arises the indispensible necessity of having all the circumstances respecting the said Treaties critically investigated by Commissioners of the United States, so that the further measures of Government may be formed on a full knowledge of the case. In order that the investigation be conducted with the highest impartiality it will be proper in addition to the evidence of the documents in the public possession, that Georgia should be represented at this part of the proposed treaty with the Creek Nation. It is however to be observed in any issue of the enquiry, that it would be highly embarrassing to Georgia to relinquish that part of the Lands, stated to have been ceded by the Creeks lying between the Ogeechee and the Oconee Rivers; that State having surveyed and divided the same among certain descriptions of its Citizens who settled and planted thereon untill dispossessed by the Indians. In case therefore the issue of the investigation should be unfavorable to the claims of Georgia, the Commissioners should be instructed to use their best endeavours to negociate with the Creeks a solemn conveyance of the said Lands

to Georgia. By the report of the Commissioners who were appointed under certain Acts of the late Congress, by South Carolina and Georgia it appears that they have agreed to meet the Creeks the 15th. of September ensuing. As it is with great difficulty the Indians are collected together at certain seasons of the year it is important that the above occasion should be embraced if possible on the part of the present Government to form a Treaty with the Creeks. As the proposed Treaty is of great importance to the future tranquility of the State of Georgia as well as of the United States it has been thought proper that it should be conducted on the part of the general Government by Commissioners whose local situations may free them from the imputation of prejudice on this subject. As it is necessary that certain principles should be fixed previously to forming instructions to the Commissioners, the following questions arising out of the foregoing communications are stated by the President of the United States and the advice of the Senate requested thereon.

1st.

In the present state of affairs between North Carolina and the United States will it be proper to take any other measures for redressing the injuries of the Cherokees than those herein suggested?

2nd

Shall the Commissioners be instructed to pursue any other measures respecting the Chickasaws and Choctaws than those herein suggested?

3d

If the Commissioners shall adjudge that the Creek Nation was fully represented at the three treaties with Georgia, and that the cessions of Land were obtained with the full under-

standing and free consent of the acknowledged proprietors and that the said treaties ought to be considered as just and valid. In this case shall the Commissioners be instructed to insist on a formal renewal and confirmation thereof? and in case of a refusal shall they be instructed to inform the Creeks that the Arms of the Union shall be employed to compell them to acknowledge the validity of the said treaties and cessions?

4th

But if the Commissioners shall adjudge that the said treaties were formed with an inadequate or unauthorized representation of the Creek Nation or that the treaties were held under circumstances of constraint or unfairness of any sort so that the United States could not with justice and dignity request or urge a confirmation thereof; In this case shall the Commissioners, considering the importance of the Oconee lands to Georgia be instructed to use their highest exertions to obtain a cession of the said Lands? If so shall the Commissioners be instructed, if they cannot obtain the said cession on better terms, to offer for the same and for the farther great object of attaching the Creeks to the Government of the United States, the following conditions.

1st.

A Compensation in money or goods to the amount of Dollars, the said amount to be stipulated to be paid by Georgia at the period which shall be fixed on or in failure thereof by the United States.

2nd

A free port on the Altamaha or St. Marys rivers or at any other place between the same as may be mutually agreed to by Georgia and the Creeks.

3d

Some pecuniary considerations to some and honorary military distinctions to other influential Chiefs, or their taking oaths of allegiance to the United States.

4th

A solemn guarantee by the United States to the Creeks of their remaining territory and to maintain the same if necessary by a line of military Posts.

5th

But if all offers should fail to induce the Creeks to make the desired Cessions to Georgia shall the Commissioners make it an Ultimatum?

6th

If the said cessions shall not be made an Ultimatum, shall the Commissioners proceed and make a treaty and include the disputed lands within the limits which shall be assigned to the Creeks. If not, shall a temporary boundary be marked, making the Oconee the line, and the other parts of the treaty be concluded? In this case shall a free post be stipulated and the pecuniary and honorary considerations granted? In other general objects shall the Treaties formed at Hopewell with the Cherokees, Chickasaws and Choctaws be the Basis of a Treaty with the Creeks?

7th

Shall the sum of 20,000 Dollars appropriated to Indian expences and treaties be wholly applied if necessary to a Treaty with the Creeks? If not what proportion? [1]

[1] The President, in company with Secretary Knox, appeared before the Senate with this message which is in the "Letter Book" in the *Washington Papers*. It was handed by Knox to Vice President Adams, who, according to Maclay's Diary "hur-

To THE SECRETARY OF WAR

New York, August 26, 1789.

Sir: Provision having been made by the Act of Congress of the 20th. of August 1789, that a sum not exceeding twenty thousand dollars, arising from the duties on imposts and tonnage shall be appropriated for defraying the expence of negotiating and treating with the Indian Tribes; I have therefore to request that you will use your exertions to obtain the necessary means for carrying the intention of Congress into effect. As soon as the Treasury Department shall be organised, Warrants will issue for the monies according to Law. I am etc.[2]

To REVEREND JOHN HURT[3]

New York, August 28, 1789.

Sir: I have duly received your letter of the 24th. inst.,[4] and have to inform you on the subjects mentioned in it, that, according to the best of my recollection the Arrangements respecting the Commutation of the half pay of the officers in the late Army were made between Congress and a Committee from the Army, without any agency of mine. Nor do I remember to have taken any measures with regard to the particular Resolution for granting Lands to different descriptions of men in the Army. Thus unacquainted with the reasons on which Congress

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ried over the paper" which, on account of noise from the street, Maclay says, he "was not master of one sentence of it." His account of the incident is in his Journal under date of Aug. 22, 1789.

On August 23 the trustees of Dartmouth College drew up an address to the President, who replied to it sometime in the same month. Both address and reply are recorded in the "Letter Book" in the *Washington Papers.*

[2] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers.*

[3] Of New York.

[4] Not now found in the *Washington Papers.*

acted under the old Confederation, I cannot undertake to give any opinion, farther than that the present Congress is the only power competent to redress any grievances which may have been suffered by any Individuals or Classes of men, who have been in the Public Service. For myself, I trust I shall be disposed always to give my concurrence to any Public Proceedings, which may come within the sphere of my duty, and which (upon a fair investigation) may be deemed equitable. And I may add, that particularly in the present instance, I should be inclined to pay every proper attention to the subject, being sensible of the merits of the Gentlemen concerned, and being With great esteem and regard, etc.[5]

To THE COMMISSIONERS FOR NEGOTIATING A TREATY WITH THE SOUTHERN INDIANS

City of New York, August 29, 1789.

These Instructions[6] will be the governing principles of your conduct and they are to be regarded as secret.

But many circumstances may arise which may render some degree of modification necessary. In every event however you will please to remember: That the Government of the United States are determined that their Administration of Indian Affairs shall be directed entirely by the great principles of Justice and humanity.

As soon as you shall have concluded your negociations with the Creeks, and forwarded your Messages as herein directed [mutilated] this place and mak[mutilated] of all your transactions [mutilated] of the War Department.[7] [MS. H. S.]

[5] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

[6] The text of these instructions is not now found in the *Washington Papers*. It is, however, printed in *Amer. State Papers, Indian Affs.*, vol. I, p. 65.

[7] In the writing of a War Department clerk.

To JAMES MADISON

(Confidential)

[August, 1789.]

The points which at present occur to me, and on which I wish your aid, are brought to view in the inclosed statement; I give you the trouble of receiving this evening that you may (if other matters do not interfere) suffer them to run through your mind between this and tomorrow afternoon when I shall expect to see you at the appointed time.

Besides the enclosed

Would it do *now* that Mr. Barton has declined the Judges Seat (Western Territory) to nominate Col Carrington for that Office? If not, can you think of any other that would suit him, of new creation; by this I mean, which has not an actual occupant or one who, from similarity of Office may have better pretensions to it.

Can you bring to mind any fit character for the vacancy just mentioned (west of New Jersey). As Virga. has given and may furnish characters for important Offices probably it would be better to exclude her also on this occasion.

What sort of a character in point of respectability and fitness for this Office has Majr. Turner[8] late of So. Carolina now of Philadelphia

Have you any knowledge of the character of Mr. Laurence? a practicing Attorney and Son in law to General St Clair

What can I do with A—— L——[9] he has applied to be nominated one of the Associate Judges; but I cannot bring my mind to adopt the request. The opinion entertained of him by those

[8] Maj. George Turner. He was nominated on September 11, but declined the appointment.

[9] Arthur Lee.

with whom I am most conversant is unpropitious and yet few men have received more marks of public favor and confidence than he has. These contradictions are embarrassing.

Should the sense of the Senate be taken on the propriety of sending public characters abroad, say, to England, Holland and Portugal; and of a day for thanksgiving?

Would it be well to advise with them before the adjournment, on the expediency and justice of demanding a surrender of our Posts?[10]

Being clearly of opinion that there ought to be a difference in the wages of the members of the two branches of the Legislature would it be politic or prudent in the President when the Bill comes to him to send it back with his reasons for non-concurring? Yrs Sincerely.[11]

To THE SECRETARY OF WAR

United States, September 5, 1789.

Sir: In order to carry into effect a certain survey directed to be made by a Resolve of the Congress of the United States, passed the 26th of August it has been found necessary to ascertain a certain point within the Limits of Canada, from which a meridian line is to be drawn; and as the consent of the British Commander in chief in Canada is necessary to be obtained before any operations can be made within their territory, I have seen fit to direct the Honble. John Jay, acting Secretary of foreign Affairs for the United States, to send a special messenger to Lord Dorchester for that purpose; and as no provision is made to defray the expences which may attend the execution of the above survey, I hereby direct you to advance to Captn.

[10] The western posts still held by Great Britain.

[11] From the printed text in the sales catalogue of the *Washington-Madison Papers* (McGuire Collection, 1892). The "Letter Book" copy varies from this in minor verbal details.

Isaac Guion (the messenger employ'd by the Honble. Mr. Jay) out of the money appropriated to Indian Affairs, and which is in the bank of New York, subject to your order the sum of three hundred and fifty Dollars to defray the expences which may attend his mission into Canada, and to be accounted for by him on his return; which sum shall be replaced in your hands as soon as provision is made for the purpose of carrying into effect the before mentioned survey.[12] I am etc.[13]

To DOCTOR JAMES CRAIK

New York, September 8, 1789.

Dear Sir: The letter with which you favored me on the 24th ultimo came duly to hand, and for the friendly sentiments contained in it, you have my sincere and hearty thanks.

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[12] Andrew Ellicott, of Maryland, was appointed the surveyor to run these lines. His commission, dated September 5, reciting that he was to ascertain the boundary line between the United States and the States of Massachusetts and New York, and also that "having run the Meridian Line between Lake Erie and the State of Pennsylvania . . . should proceed to make a survey of the land lying west of the said line, between Lake Erie and the State of Pennsylvania so as to ascertain the quantity thereof." This Commission is recorded in the "Letter Book" in the *Washington Papers.*

On September 4 Washington wrote to Knox that this survey was "a matter of too great importance to the United States to await the organization of the Treasury Department," and directed Knox to advance Ellicott $1,125 out of the money for the treaty negotiations with the Southern Indians, to be replaced "as soon as provision can be made to defray the expences attending the before mentioned survey." The draft of this letter is in the *Washington Papers.* (See *Journals of the Continental Congress,* June 6, 1788.)

[13] The draft is in the writing of Tobias Lear.

On September 5 the Legislature of Pennsylvania delivered an address to Washington, who replied to it at some undetermined date, in which he said: "It should be the highest ambition of every American to extend his views beyond himself, and to bear in mind that his conduct will not only affect himself, his country, and his immediate posterity; but that its influence may be co-extensive with the world, and stamp political happiness or misery on ages yet unborn. To establish this desirable end; and to establish the government of *laws,* the union of these States is absolutely necessary; therefore in every proceeding, this great, this important object should ever be kept in view; and, so long as our measures tend to this; and are marked with the wisdom of a well-informed and enlightened people, we may reasonably hope, under the smiles of Heaven, to convince the world that the happiness of nations can be accomplished by pacific revolutions in their political systems, without the destructive intervention of the sword." This reply is recorded in the "Letter Book" immediately following the address. It is printed by Sparks at the end of September, 1789.

My disorder was of long and painful continuance, and though now freed from the latter, the wound given by the incision is not yet closed. Persuaded as I am that the case has been treated with skill, and with as much tenderness as the nature of the complaint would admit, yet I confess I often wished for your inspection of it. During the paroxysm, the distance rendered this impracticable, and after the paroxysm had passed I had no conception of being confined to a lying posture on one side six weeks, and that I should feel the remains of it more than twelve. The part affected is now reduced to the size of a barley corn, and by Saturday next (which will complete the thirteenth week) I expect it will be skinned over. Upon the whole, I have more reason to be thankful that it is no worse than to repine at the confinement.

The want of regular exercise, with the cares of office, will, I have no doubt hasten my departure for that country from whence no Traveller returns; but a faithful discharge of whatsoever trust I accept, as it ever has, so it always will be the primary consideration in every transaction of my life be the consequences what they may. Mrs. Washington has, I think, better health than usual, and the children are well and in the way of improvement.

I always expected, that the Gentleman, whose name you have mentioned[14] would mark his opposition to the new government with consistency. Pride on the one hand, and want of manly candor on the other, will not I am certain let him acknowledge an error in his opinions respecting it though conviction should flash on his mind as strongly as a ray of light. If certain characters which you have also mentioned,[15] should tread *blindfold* in his steps it would be matter of no wonder to me. They are in the habit of thinking that everything he says

[14] George Mason.
[15] Martin Cockburn and Richard Chichester.

and does is right, and (if capable) they will not judge for themselves.

It gives me pleasure to hear, and I wish you to express it to them that my Nephews George and Lawrence Washington are attentive to their studies, and obedient to your orders and admonition. That kind of learning which is to fit them for the most useful and necessary purposes of life, among which writing well, arithmetic, and the less abstruse branches of the mathematics are certainly to be comprehended, ought to be particularly attended to, and it is my earnest wish that it should be so.

The Gazettes are so full of the occurrences of public, and indeed a private nature, which happen in this place that it is unnecessary (if I had more leisure than falls to my lot) to attempt a repetition: I shall therefore refer you to them or to the Alexandria paper, through which they may, if pains is taken, be retailed. Mrs. Washington and the rest of the family join me in every good and friendly wish for Mrs. Craik, yourself and the rest of your family; and with sentiments of sincere regard and friendship, I am &c.[16]

To EDMUND RANDOLPH

New York, September 8, 1789.

Dear Sir: Your favor of the 2d Ultimo came duly to hand. A tedious and painful disorder which deprived me for many Weeks of the use of my pen, and which consequently required the greater exertion of it when I was able to set up, is the best apology I can make for not having acknowledged the receipt of the above letter sooner.

The list of associates who purchased 100 Tickets in the lottery of the deceased Colo. Byrd is all the memorandom I have

[16] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

of that transaction. To the best of my recollection Mr. Thomson Mason (deceased) was one of the associates and was either authorised, or assumed (I do not know which) the management of the business. He did it so effectually it seems as to monopolize the whole interest. Some of the prizes it has been said, are valuable, but whether there is any Clue by which Mr. Masons conduct in this business can be developed I am unable to say. Your Uncle (The Honorable Peyton Randolph) was one of the ten associates. But if neither Mr. Fitzhugh nor any of the others who are living can give such information as would avail in an enquiry we must, I presume, set down with the loss of the money and prizes.

With respect to Mr. Powells[17] application I can only repeat to you what I say to all others upon similar occasions, that is, I leave myself entirely free until the office is established and the moment shall arrive when the nomination is to be made, then, under my best information and a full view of all circumstances I shall endeavor to the best of my judgment to combine justice to individuals with the public good making the latter my primary object. My best wishes attend Mrs. Randolph and your family and with sentiments of sincere regard and friendship I am etc.[18]

To ELIZABETH WASHINGTON LEWIS

New York, September 13, 1789.

My dear Sister: Colonel Ball's[19] letter gave me the first account of my Mother's death.[20] Since that I have received Mrs.

[17] Benjamin Powell, of Williamsburg, Va.

[18] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

On September 9 Washington signed the ratification of the Consular Convention with France, Nov. 14, 1788. This ratification is recorded in the "Letter Book" in the *Washington Papers*.

[19] Col. Burges Ball.

[20] Mary Washington. She died at Fredericksburg, Aug. 25, 1789, in the eighty-third year of her age.

Carter's letter, written at your request, and previous to both I was prepared for the event by some advices of her illness communicated to your Son Robert.

Awful, and affecting as the death of a Parent is, there is consolation in knowing, that Heaven has spared ours to an age, beyond which few attain, and favored her with the full enjoyment of her mental faculties, and as much bodily strength as usually falls to the lot of fourscore. Under these considerations and a hope that she is translated to a happier place, it is the duty of her relatives to yield due submission to the decrees of the Creator. When I was last at Fredericksburg, I took a final leave of my Mother, never expecting to see her more.

It will be impossible for me at this distance, and circumstanced as I am, to give the smallest attention to the execution of her will;[21] nor indeed is much required, if, as she directs, no security should be given or appraisement made of her estate; but that the same should be allotted to the Devisees with as little trouble and delay as may be. How far this is legal, I know not. Mr. Mercer can, and I have no doubt would, readily advise you if asked, which I wish you to do. If the ceremony of inventorying, appraising, &c. can be dispensed with, all the rest, (as the will declares, that few or no debts are owing) can be done with very little trouble. Every person may in that case immediately receive what is specifically devised. The Negroes[22] who are engaged in the crop and under an Overseer must remain I conceive on the Plantation until the crop is finished (which ought to be as soon as possible) after which the horses, stock of all sorts, and every species of property not disposed of by the will, (the debts, if any, being first paid) must by law be equally

[21] The text of Mary Washington's will is printed in Ford's *Writings of Washington*, vol 14, p. 416.

[22] The Negroes were devised by Augustine Washington's will to his sons after his wife's death. This will is printed in Ford's *Writings of Washington*, vol. 14, p. 410.

divided into five parts, one of which you, another my Brother Charles, and a third myself, are entitled to; the other two thirds fall to the share of the children of our deceased Brothers Samuel and John.

Were it not, that the specific legacies, which are given to me by the Will are meant, and ought to be considered and received as mementos of parental affection, in the last solemn act of life, I should not be desirous of receiving or removing them; but in this point of view I set a value on them much beyond their intrinsic worth.[23]

Whilst it occurs to me, it is necessary it should be known that there is a fellow belonging to that estate now at my house, who never stayed elsewhere, for which reason, and because he has a family I should be glad to keep him. He must I should conceive be far short in value of the fifth of the other negroes which will be to be divided, but I shall be content to take him as my proportion of them; and, if from a misconception either of the number or the value of these negroes it should be found that he is of greater value than falls to my lot I shall readily allow the difference, in order that the fellow may be gratified, as he never would consent to go from me.

Debts, if any are due, should be paid from the sale of the crops. Plantation utensils, Horses and stock; and the sooner an account is taken of the latter and they can conveniently be disposed of, the better it will be for two reasons; first because the Overseer (if he is not a very honest Man) may take advantage of circumstances, and convert part of these things to his own use; and secondly because the season is now fast approaching

[23] In addition to the lands on Accokeek Run in Stafford County, and her Negro boy named George, Mary Washington devised to the General her best bed, bedspread of Virginia cloth curtains that stood in her best room, her quilted blue and white quilt, best dressing glass, her next best dressing glass, one bed, bedstead bolsters, one pillow, one pair of sheets, blanket, and counterpane.

when without feeding (which would lessen the sale of the corn and fodder) the stock will fall off, and consequently sell to a disadvantage. Whether my Mother has kept any accounts that can be understood is more than I am able to say. If any thing is owing to her it should be received and, if due from her, paid after due proof thereof is made. She has had a great deal of money from me at times, as can be made appear by my books, and the accounts of Mr. L. Washington during my absence; and over and above this has not only had all that was ever made from the Plantation but got her provisions and every thing else she thought proper from thence. In short to the best of my recollection I have never in my life received a copper from the estate, and have paid many hundred pounds (first and last) to her in cash. However I want no retribution; I conceived it to be a duty whenever she asked for money, and I had it, to furnish her notwithstanding she got all the crops or the amount of them, and took every thing she wanted from the plantation for the support of her family, horses, &c. besides.

As the accounts for or against the Estate must not only from the declaration in the will, but from the nature of the case, be very trifling and confined I should suppose to the town of Fredericksburg, it might be proper therefore in that paper to require in an advertisement all those who have any demands to bring them in properly attested immediately, and those who are owing to pay forthwith. The same advertisement might appoint a day for selling the stock, and every thing, excepting Negroes, at the plantation, that is not devised by the will, as it will be more convenient I should suppose for the heirs to receive their respective dividends of the money arising from the sales than to be troubled with receiving a cow, a calf, or such like things after the debts (which must be the case) have been first paid. It might be well in fixing the day of sale, to consult the Overseer,

to know when the business of the plantation will admit the Cart, Team and Utensils to be taken from it.

As the number of articles to be sold cannot be many and will be of small value, I think they had better be sold for ready money and so advertised, for though they would fetch more on credit, there would more than probable be bad debts contracted, and at any rate delay, if not law suits, before the money could be collected, and besides if there are debts to be paid money will be wanted for the purpose, and in no way can be so readily and properly obtained as by a ready money sale, and from the crops.

If you think this business will be too troublesome for you with the aid of your sons Mr. Carter[24] and Colonel Ball who I am persuaded will give each of us assistance, and you will let me know it, I will desire Major George Washington to attend.

As the land at the Little-falls Plantation goes to Mr. Bushrod Washington he should be apprised in time of the breaking of it up, otherwise there may be injury to the houses and fencing if left without some person to attend to them. Have particular care taken of her papers, the letters to her, &c.

I should prefer selling the houses and lotts on which my Mother lived to renting of them, and would give a year or two years credit to the purchasers paying interest, and not being acquainted with the value of lotts in Fredericksburg, I would leave the price to any three indifferent and impartial Gentleman to say what they are worth, and that sum I will take.

If they cannot be sold and soon I would rent them from year to year to any orderly Tenant on a moderate rent. If they are not disposed of on sale or by tennanting before the weather gets cool the paling will, I expect, be soon burnt up.

[24] Charles Carter, who married Elizabeth Lewis, daughter of "Betty" Washington Lewis.

Give my love to Mrs. Carter, and thank her for the letter she wrote to me. I would have done this myself, had I more time for private correspondences. Mrs. Washington joins in best wishes for her, yourself, and all other friends, and I am, with the most sincere regard, your affectionate Brother.[25]

To GEORGE GILPIN

New York, September 14, 1789.

Dear Sir: I am favored with the receipt of your letter of the 2 instant, and thank you for the information you have been so good as to communicate.

Every circumstance which serves to shew the utility, and which explains the progress of an undertaking so advantageous to the Community as the navigation of the Potomack, is at once grateful and interesting.

When your leisure allows an opportunity of making out the draft you mention,[26] I shall be glad to receive it, with such observations as may consist with your convenience. I am etc.[25]

To ARTHUR CAMPBELL[27]

New York, September 15, 1789.

Sir: Your several favors of the 10th and 16th of May and 22d of August with their enclosures have been received. The

[25] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

[26] Gilpin had written: "As soon as I can make out a proper draft I will send one to you with the Courses, distance and perpendicular fall of Potomack and of the Allegany Mountain where several of the great waters begin." Gilpin's letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

On September 14 Washington answered an address from the Rhode Island Society of the Cincinnati, dated September 3. In it he wrote: "I am much pleased, Gentlemen, with the hope which you entertain that mistaken zeal [in Rhode Island] will give way to enlightened policy. And I desire to repeat to your Society assurances of the most affectionate esteem." Both address and Washington's reply are recorded in the "Letter Book" in the *Washington Papers*.

[27] Of Washington County, Va.

information which they communicate claims my thanks, and the personal kindness they express is entitled to my grateful acknowledgments.

Watchful over every interest of the Union, Congress during their present Session, have passed a Law authorising the appointment of Commissioners to treat with the Indians, and providing for the expences attendant on the negotiations. In pursuance thereof Benjamin Lincoln, Cyrus Griffin, and David Humphreys Esquires have been appointed Commissioners; and they sailed from New York for Savannah in Georgia fifteen days ago.

Circumstances concur to favor a belief that the most beneficial consequences will flow from this measure, and that its effects will be extended to every description of Indians within, and contiguous to, the United States.

I accept with pleasure your obliging offers of further communications, and shall at all times be happy to receive such information as you may think interesting to the Government of the United States. I am etc.[28]

To MRS. MARGARET CARROLL[29]

New York, September 16, 1789.

Mdam: A Person having been lately sent to me from Europe in the capacity of a Gardner, who professes a knowledge in the culture of rare plants and care of a Green-House, I am desirous to profit of the very obliging offer you were pleased some time ago to make me.

In availing myself of your goodness I am far from desiring that it should induce any inconvenience to yourself. but, recon-

[28] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers.*
[29] Of "Mount Clare," Md.

ciling your disposition to oblige, with your convenience, I shall be happy to receive such aids as you can well spare, and as will not impair your collection. Trusting that this will be the rule of your bounty, I have requested General Williams to give you notice, when an opportunity offers to transport the trees or plants in the freshest state to Mount Vernon, and to pay any expence which may be incurred in fitting them for transportation, and to receive them from your Gardner for that purpose. I have the honor etc.[30]

TO THE SENATE

September 16, 1789.

Gentlemen of the Senate: The governor of the Western territory has made a statement to me[31] of the reciprocal hostilities of the Wabash Indians and the people inhabiting the frontiers bordering on the river Ohio, which I herewith lay before Congress.

The United States in Congress assembled, by their acts of the 21st day of July, 1787, and of the 12th August, 1788, made a provisional arrangement for calling forth the militia of Virginia and Pennsylvania in the proportions therein specified.

As the circumstances which occasioned the said arrangement continue nearly the same, I think proper to suggest to your consideration the expediency of making some temporary provision for calling forth the militia of the United States for the purposes stated in the Constitution, which would embrace the cases apprehended by the governor of the Western territory.[32]

[30] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers.*

[31] St. Clair's letter of Sept. 14, 1789, is not now found in the *Washington Papers.* It is printed in *The Territorial Papers of the United States* (C. E. Carter, editor, Washington: 1934), vol. 11, p. 216; also in the *St. Clair Papers,* vol. 2, p. 123.

[32] From Richardson's *Messages and Papers of the Presidents.* No record of this message is found in the "Letter Book" in the *Washington Papers.*

To CLEMENT BIDDLE

New York, September 16, 1789.

Dear Sir: The President has sent to Virginia a German who is to be a Gardener for him there.[33] As he cannot speak the English Language and is unacquainted with the Country, I have paid his passage in the Stage to Philadelphia and have written to Mr. Inskeep, proprietor of the Stage there, to forward him from thence to Alexandria, and have informed him that the Amount of his Passage to the latter place would be paid by you upon his delivering this Letter, which I request you to do and charge the same to the Acct. of the President of the United States. I am, etc.

P. S. The man has a Trunk which I presume will require to be paid for also.[34]

To THE SENATE

September 17, 1789.

Gentlemen of the Senate: It doubtless is important that all treaties and compacts formed by the United States with other nations, whether civilized or not, should be made with caution and executed with fidelity.

It is said to be the general understanding and practice of nations, as a check on the mistakes and indiscretions of ministers or commissioners, not to consider any treaty negotiated and signed by such officers as final and conclusive until ratified by the sovereign or government from whom they derive their powers. This practice has been adopted by the United States

[33] According to Washington's "Diary" (Nov. 14, 1788) this gardener, John Christian Ehlers, had been sent from Germany by Henrick Wilmans, of Bremen.

[34] This letter was signed by Lear, and is entered in the "Letter Book" in the *Washington Papers.*

respecting their treaties with European nations, and I am inclined to think it would be advisable to observe it in the conduct of our treaties with the Indians; for though such treaties, being on their part made by their chiefs or rulers, need not be ratified by them, yet, being formed on our part by the agency of subordinate officers, it seems to be both prudent and reasonable that their acts should not be binding on the nation until approved and ratified by the Government. It strikes me that this point should be well considered and settled, so that our national proceedings in this respect may become uniform and be directed by fixed and stable principles.

The treaties with certain Indian nations, which were laid before you with my message of the 25th May last, suggested two questions to my mind, viz: First, whether those treaties were to be considered as perfected and consequently as obligatory without being ratified. If not, then secondly, whether both or either, and which, of them ought to be ratified. On these questions I request your opinion and advice.

You have, indeed, advised me *"to execute and enjoin an observance of"* the treaty with the Wyandottes, etc. You, gentlemen, doubtless intended to be clear and explicit, and yet, without further explanation, I fear I may misunderstand your meaning, for if by my *executing* that treaty you mean that I should make it (in a more particular and immediate manner than it now is) the act of Government, then it follows that I am to ratify it. If you mean by my *executing it* that I am to see that it be carried into effect and operation, then I am led to conclude either that you consider it as being perfect and obligatory in its present state, and therefore to be executed and observed, or that you consider it as to derive its completion and obligation from the silent approbation and ratification which my proclamation may be construed to imply. Although I am

inclined to think that the latter is your intention, yet it certainly is best that all doubts respecting it be removed.

Permit me to observe that it will be proper for me to be informed of your sentiments relative to the treaty with the Six Nations previous to the departure of the governor of the Western territory, and therefore I recommend it to your early consideration.[35]

*To DAVID STUART

New York, September 21, 1789.

Dear Sir: Your letter of the 12th instt. came duly to hand. I have given the subject of it every consideration that time and my situation would enable me to do. The result is, that if Mr. Alexander, upon your recovery of the Land for which the price, and mode of payment is disputed, and paying rent for it during the time it has been out of his possession (the latter to be fixed by Men of judgment and impartiality) is disposed to accomodate the Suit which is pending between you, as Administrator of John Parke Custis Esqr. deceased, and himself, that it would, all circumstances considered, be most advisable to accede to it. My reasons for this opinion are many. It is unnecessary I conceive to detail them if I had leisure, which in truth is not the case. I am etc.

My opinion coincides with the above, and I advise the adoption of the measure accordingly.[36]

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[35]The text is from Richardson's *Messages and Papers of the Presidents.* No record of this message is found in the "Letter Book" in the *Washington Papers.*

On September 17 Lear, by direction of the President, transmitted to Knox a letter from Gov. George Clinton, requesting that Knox give the President his opinion on "the expediency of his making an official or other communication of the information contained therein to the Congress of the United States." This draft is in the *Washington Papers,* but Clinton's letter and Knox's report thereon are not now found therein.

[36]The last paragraph is signed "Martha Washington." From the original letter in the possession of the Mount Vernon Ladies' Association of the Union.

To BENJAMIN FRANKLIN

New York, September 23, 1789.

Dear Sir: The affectionate congratulations on the recovery of my health, and the warm expressions of personal friendship which were contained in your favor of the 16th instant,[37] claim my gratitude. And the consideration that it was written when you were afflicted with a painful malady, greatly increases my obligation for it.

Would to God, my dear Sir, that I could congratulate you upon the removal of that excruciating pain under which you labour! and that your existence might close with as much ease to yourself, as its continuance has been beneficial to our Country and useful to mankind! Or, if the United wishes of a free people, joined with the earnest prayers of every friend to Science and humanity could relieve the body from pains or infirmities, you could claim an exemption on this score. But this cannot be, and you have within yourself the only resource to which we can confidently apply for relief: a *Philosophic mind.*

If to be venerated for benevolence: If to be admired for talents: If to be esteemed for patriotism: if to be beloved for philanthropy, can gratify the human mind, you must have the pleasing consolation to know that you have not lived in vain; And I flatter myself that it will not be ranked among the least grateful occurrences of your life to be assured that so long as I retain my memory, you will be thought on with respect, veneration and Affection by Your sincere friend etc.[38]

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[37] Franklin had written: "For my own personal Ease, I should have died two years ago; but tho' those Years have been spent in excruciating Pain, I am pleas'd that I have liv'd them, since they have brought me to see our present Situation. I am now finishing my 84th. [year] and probably with it my Career in this Life; but in what ever State of Existence I am plac'd hereafter, if I retain any Memory of what has pass'd here, I shall with it retain the Esteem, Respect, and Affection with which I have long been, my dear Friend, Yours most sincerely."

[38] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers.* The original is in the possession of the American Philosophical Society.

To THOMAS SMITH

New York, September 23, 1789.

Sir: I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 24 of July, enclosing a general statement of the monies received for, and paid to my order, and likewise the receipt of a letter from you of the 19 of April last, which has not been acknowledged.

It is unnecessary for me to repeat to you the satisfaction which you have given me in conducting the business that was committed to your hands, as a proof of it I must request your further attention to the recovery of the enclosed bond given by John Stephenson, and Hugh Stephenson on the 22 of August 1765 for seventy pounds ten shillings Virginia currency. I likewise enclose a statement of an account, which relates to the said bond. Colonel John Stephenson, the principal in the bond, lives in Fayette County State of Pennsylvania, and is undoubtedly known to you. The repeated applications which have been made to Colonel Stephenson for the payment of the bond, and the more than repeated assurances which he has given that he would immediately discharge it, render any further delay not only unnecessary, but improper, and, therefore, if he neglects to pay it upon application, you will not rely upon promises, but put the bond in suit.

Colonel Cannon, of Washington county whom I have employed to superintend my property there, and in Fayette, was recommended to me as a very active, attentive, and *punctual* man. I wish I could say, from experience, that I have found him so. but it is the reverse. It is now almost three years since he was empowered to take care of my property and collect my rents in that country, during which time I have repeatedly written to him, not only by the post, but by opportunities that must have

conveyed the letters to his hands, and so far have I been from receiving regular answers to them, that, I think, I have only had two letters from him since he has conducted my business, the last of which was handed to me in the past winter, in which he mentioned the terms on which he had leased my lands, but I have never heard from him since, or ever received the remittance of one shilling for my rents. I will therefore thank you, Sir, when you are in that part of the country to make some enquiries of Colonel Cannon, relative to the state of my property under his care, and remind him of the necessity there is of his being more frequent in his communications to me, and more punctual in the remittance of my rents. I have enclosed a letter to him, which I will thank you to deliver when you have an opportunity. I am etc.[39]

To JOHN CANNON

New York, September 24, 1789.

Sir: Sometime last winter I received a letter from you by the hands of Major McCormack, giving me a statement of the situation of my lands under your care in the Counties of Washington and Fayette, with the names of the persons to whom they were leased and the terms on which they held them.

You likewise informed me that the Tenants would pay the rents in wheat at your mill, which you would turn to the best advantage for me. In consequence of these arrangements I expected to have received remittance from you before this time, or, at least to have heard from you, in both of which I have been disappointed, you will therefore, Sir, not think it strange that I should express my surprise at your conduct in this respect, and more especially as I was induced to put this business into

[39] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers.*

your hands from the favorable information which I received of your punctuality and attention.

I think I have received but two letters from you since I empowered you to act for me in that country, which is now almost three years. Opportunities certainly have not been wanting, for the post affords them from Pittsburg, if private ones should not offer: and I have repeatedly written to you requesting information relative to my property under your care.

Mr. Smith will do me the favor to hand this to you, and will be so good as to take charge of, and convey to me any communications you may have to make, and I trust, in future, I shall not have cause to complain of your want of attention in writing.

Any remittances you may have to make can be sent either to me here, or to my nephew Major George Aug. Washington at Mount Vernon as opportunity may make it convenient. I am etc.[40]

To BENJAMIN FISHBOURN

New York, September 25, 1789.

Sir: In reply to your letter of this date,[41] addressed to the President of the United States, I am directed by him to inform you that when he nominated you for Naval Officer of the Port of Savannah he was ignorant of any charge existing against you, and, not having, since that time, had any other exhibit of the facts which were alledged in the Senate than what is stated in the certificates which have been published by you, he does not consider himself competent to give any opinion on the subject. I am etc.[42]

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[40] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

[41] Fishbourne's letter is in the *Papers of the Continental Congress*, no. 78, vol. 9, fol. 645.

[42] This letter, signed "William Jackson," is entered in the "Letter Book" in the *Washington Papers*.

*To THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY[43]

September 25, 1789.

Dear Sir: From a great variety of characters who have made a tender of their services for *Suitable Offices,* I have selected the following.

Mr. Gorham[44]	Massachuts.	Genl. Moylan[44]	New Jersey
General Cobb[44]	Do	Mr. Wm. Temple Franklin	Do
Colo. Osgood		Colo. Cummings[44]	Do
Colo. Smith[44]	N. York	Mr. Jno. Bayard	
Colo. W: White[44]	Do	Mr. Thos. Barclay	Pennsyla.
Mr. Lewis Pintard	Do	Mr. Chas Pettit	Do
Mr. John R. Livingston	Do	Mr. Jas. Milligan	Do
Commodore Nicholson[44]	Do	Doctr. Tilton[44]	Delaware
Mr. Blagge[44]	Do	Colo. Jno. Parke	Do
Colo. Giles[44]	Do	Mr. Broom[44]	Do
Genl. Webb[44]	Do		
Doctr. Cochran[44]	Do		
Mr. Wm. Denning	Do		
Mr. Wm. W. Morris	Do	Mr. Cyrus Griffin	
Captn. Thos. Randall	Do	Mr. Arthur Lee	
Mr. Paul R. Randall	Do	Mr. Richd. Harrison	
Majr. North[44]	Do	Mr. Jonathan Dayton	
Mr. Hazard,[44] Incumbt.	Do	Genl. Gist[44]	
Mr. Henry Remson	Do	Chancellor Levingston[44]	

If Mr. Jay and you will take the further trouble of running them over to see if among them there can be found one, who under all *circumstances* is more eligable for the Post Office than Col. O,[45] I shall be obliged to you both for your opinion

[43] Alexander Hamilton. He was commissioned Secretary of the Treasury, Sept. 11, 1789.

[44] These full names, in their order, are: Nathaniel Gorham, David Cobb, William Stephens Smith, Anthony Walton White, Samuel Nicholson, John(?) Blagge, James(?) Giles, Samuel Blatchley Webb, Dr. John Cochran, William North, Ebenezer Hazard, Stephen Moylan, John Noble Cumming, Dr. James Tilton, Jacob Broom, Mordecai Gist, and Robert R. Livingston.

[45] Samuel Osgood.

thereon by Eleven Oclock. Another Paper which is enclosed,[46] will shew how the appointments stand to this time. And, that you may have the matter *fully* before you, I shall add that, it is my *present* intention to nominate Mr. Jefferson for Secretary of State, and Mr. Edmd. Randolph as Attorney Genl; though their acceptance is problematical, especially the latter. Yrs. Sincerely.[47]

*To JAMES MADISON

September 25(?), 1789.[48]

My solicitude for drawing the first characters of the Union into the Judiciary, is such that, my cogitations on this subject last night (after I parted with you) have almost determined me (as well for the reason just mentioned, as to silence the clamours, or more properly, *soften* the disappointment of smaller characters) to nominate Mr. Blair[49] and Colo. Pendleton as Associate and District Judges. And Mr. E. Randolph for the Attorney General trusting to their acceptance. Mr. Randolph, in this character, I would prefer to any person I am acquainted of not superior abilities, from habits of intimacy with him.

Mr. Pendleton could not I fear discharge, and in that case I am sure would not undertake, to execute the duties of an Associate under the present form of the Act.[50] But he may be able to fulfil those of the District. The Salary I believe is greater than what he now has; and he would *see* or it might be *explained* to him, the reason of his being prefered to the District Court rather than to the Supreme Bench; though I have no

[46] This paper, in the writing of Tobias Lear, with additions by Washington, is in the *Hamilton Papers*, vol. 8, fol. 1014.

[47] From the original in the *Hamilton Papers* in the Library of Congress.

[48] Sparks prints this as "Date uncertain (10 August?), 1789."

[49] John Bliar.

[50] The Judiciary Act, approved Sept. 24, 1789.

objection to nominating him to the latter, if it is conceived that his health is competent, and his mental faculties are unimpaired, by Age. His acceptance of the first would depend in a great measure, I presume, upon the light in which the District Judges are considered, that is, whether superior in Rank to any State Judges.

I am very troublesome, but you must excuse me. Ascribe it to friendship and confidence, and you will do justice to my motives. Remember the Attorney and Marshall for Kentucky, and forget not to give their Christian names.[51] Yours ever.

*To THOMAS JOHNSON

New York, September 28, 1789.

Dear Sir: In assenting to the opinion that the due administration of Justice is . . .[52]

Consulting your domestic inclinations and the state of your health I yielded on a recent occasion, to the opinions of some of your friends who thought that you would not be prevailed on to leave your State to mingle in the Administration of public affairs. But I found it impossible, in selecting a character to preside in the District-Court of Maryland, to refuse to, what I conceive to be, the public wish, and to the conviction of my own Mind, the necessity of nominating you to that Office. And I cannot but flatter myself that the same reasons which have led you to former Sacrifices in the public service, will now operate to induce your acceptance of an appointment so highly interesting to your Country.

As soon as the Acts, which are necessary accompaniments . . .[52]

[51] George Nicholas and Samuel McDowell, jr. All these names were nominated to the Senate on September 26.

[52] From a photostat of the original kindly furnished by Stan V. Henkels, of Philadelphia, Pa. The omitted portions are practically the same as the first and last paragraphs of Washington's letter to Edmund Randolph, Sept. 28, 1789, *q. v.*

To REVEREND SAMUEL LANGDON[53]

New York, September 28, 1789.

Sir: You will readily beleive me when I assure you that the necessary attention to the business in which I have been lately engaged is the sole cause of my not having sooner acknowledged the receipt of your letter of the 8th. of July, and made a proper return for your politeness in sending me the Sermon which accompanied it. You will now, Sir, please to accept my best thanks for this mark of attention, as well as for the friendly expressions contained in your letter.

The man must be bad indeed who can look upon the events of the American Revolution without feeling the warmest gratitude towards the great Author of the Universe whose divine interposition was so frequently manifested in our behalf. And it is my earnest prayer that we may so conduct ourselves as to merit a continuance of those blessings with which we have hitherto been favored. I am etc.[54]

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[53] Of New Hampshire.

[54] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers.*

On September 28 the Religious Society called "Quakers," from their yearly meeting for Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware, and the western parts of Maryland and Virginia, sent an address to Washington who replied to it on some unknown date His reply is recorded in the "Letter Book" immediately following the address. In it he wrote:

"Government being, among other purposes, instituted to protect the persons and consciences of men from oppression, it certainly is the duty of rulers, not only to abstain from it themselves, but, according to their stations, to prevent it in others.

"The liberty enjoyed by the people of these States, of worshipping Almighty God agreeably to their consciences, is not only among the choicest of their *blessings,* but also of their *rights.* While men perform their social duties faithfully, they do all that society or the state can with propriety demand or expect; and remain responsible only to their Maker for the religion, or modes of faith, which they may prefer or profess.

"Your principles and conduct are well known to me; and it is doing the people called Quakers no more than justice to say, that (except their declining to share with others the burthen of the common defence) there is no denomination among us, who are more exemplary and useful citizens.

"I assure you very explicitly, that in my opinion the conscientious scruples of all men should be treated with great delicacy and tenderness; and it is my wish and desire, that the laws may always be as extensively accommodated to them, as a due regard to the protection and essential interests of the nation may justify and permit."

*To ROBERT HANSON HARRISON

New York, September 28, 1789.

Dear Sir: It would be unnecessary to remark to you, that the administration of Justice is the strongest cement of good Government, did it not follow as a consequence that the first organization of the federal judiciary is essential to the happiness of our Country, and to the stability of our political system.

Under this impression it has been the invariable object of my anxious solicitude to select the fittest characters to expound the Laws and dispense justice. To tell you that this sentiment has ruled me in your nomination to a seat on the Supreme Bench of the United States, would be but to repeat opinions with which you are already well acquainted; opinions which meet a just co-incidence in the public Mind.

Your friends, and your fellow-citizens, anxious for the respect of the Court to which you are appointed, will be happy to learn your acceptance; and no one among them will be more so than myself.

As soon as the Acts which are necessary accompaniments . . .[55]

To JOHN TAYLOR GILMAN

New York, September 28, 1789.

Sir: I am sorry to learn from your letter of the 12 inst., that the state of your health is such as will, in all probability, prevent your attendance on the business of your commission.

The ordinance of the late Congress instituting the Board[56] of which you are a Member, made it necessary for all the

[55] From the original in the House of Representatives Collection, in the National Archives. The omitted portion is the same as the conclusion of Washington's letter to Edmund Randolph, Sept. 28, 1789, *q. v.*

[56] For settling the accounts of the United States with the individual States.

Commissioners to be present when their business commenced, and likewise required the attendance of the whole when any final adjustment took place. As the business has already commenced agreeably to the ordinance, Genl. Irwin[57] informs me that it is progressing under his inspection, and that the presence of the whole Board will not be absolutely necessary 'till some final settlement of Accounts is about to take place. I shall therefore delay making any new appointment until circumstances may render it necessary in hopes that you will yet so far recover your health as to be able to attend the duties of your office in time; for I should be very unwilling that a temporary illness should deprive a man of his office unless the public good rendered a new appointment absolutely necessary.[58]

Mr. Kean[59] has not yet arrived, but by a letter which I received from him yesterday he may be daily expected. With my best wishes for the restoration of your health I am etc.[60]

To EDMUND RANDOLPH

New York, September 28,[61] 1789.

Dear Sir: Impressed with a conviction that the due administration of justice is the firmest pillar of good Government, I have considered the first arrangement of the Judicial department as essential to the happiness of our Country, and to the

[57] William Irvine (Irwin).

[58] On December 14 Lear wrote to Gilman that the two other Commissioners had informed the President "that the business of their commission is now retarded, and will very shortly be at a stand without the presence of the other Commissioner; I am therefore directed by the President of the United States to give you notice thereof, and to inform you that your attendance cannot be well delayed beyond the first, and certainly not beyond the middle of January, without injury to the public. Should the state of your health be such . . . the President wishes you to give him immediate information thereof, that another person may be appointed, and the public business not be unnecessarily retarded." Lear's letter is recorded in the "Letter Book" in the *Washington Papers.*

[59] John Kean.

[60] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers.*

[61] Both Sparks and Ford date this letter September 27.

stability of its political system; hence the selection of the fittest characters to expound the laws, and dispense justice, has been an invariable object of my anxious concern.

I mean not to flatter when I say, that considerations like these have ruled in the nomination of the Attorney-General of the United States, and, that my private wishes would be highly gratified by your acceptance of the Office. I regarded the office as requiring those talents to conduct its important duties, and that disposition to sacrifice to the public good, which I believe you to possess and entertain; in both instances, I doubt not, the event will justify the conclusion; The appointment I hope, will be accepted, and its functions, I am assured, will be well performed.[62]

Notwithstanding the prevailing disposition to frugality, the Salary of this office appears to have been fixed, at what it is, from a belief that the Station would confer pre-eminence on its possessor, and procure for him a decided preference of Professional employment. As soon as the Acts, which are necessary accompaniments of the appointment can be got ready you will receive official notice of the latter; this letter is only to be considered as an early communication of my sentiments on this occasion and as a testimony of the sincere regard and esteem, with which I am &c.[63]

To EDMUND PENDLETON

New York, September 28, 1789.

I write to you, my dear Sir, on a subject which has engaged much of my reflection, and to which I am persuaded I shall obtain your ready and candid attention.

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[62] Randolph had been confirmed by the Senate, Saturday, September 26, as Attorney General. (See Washington's letter to the Associate Justices of the Supreme Court. Sept. 30, 1789, *post.*)

[63] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers.*

Regarding the due administration of Justice as the corner stone of good Government, I have considered the first arrangement of the judicial department as essential to the happiness of our Country, and to the stability of its political system. Under this impression it has been an invariable object of anxious solicitude with me to select the fittest Characters to expound the Laws and dispense justice.

Concurring in sentiment with some others of your friends that the functions of the Supreme Bench, which involve the fatigue of Circuit Courts, would be too much for the infirm State of your health, I believed it necessary, to avail our Country of your abilities and the influence of your example, by nominating you to the office of Judge of the District Court of Virginia, which will not require much greater personal exertion than the duties of your present station, and I trust the hope, with which I flatter myself, that I shall have the pleasure to hear of your acceptance of the appointment, is well founded, indeed I cannot doubt it, when I again consider the necessity of giving a tone to the system in its out-set, by placing the administration of the Laws with the best and wisest of our Citizens.

As soon as the Acts, which are necessary accompaniments . . .[64]

To THE SENATE AND THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

United States, September 29, 1789.

Gentlemen: His most Christian Majesty, by a letter dated the 7th. of June last, addressed to the President and Members of the General Congress of the United States of North America,

[64] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*. The omitted portion is the same as the conclusion of Washington's letter to Edmund Randolph, Sept. 28, 1789, *q. v.*

announced the much lamented death of his son the Dauphin. The generous conduct of the French Monarch and Nation towards this Country renders every event that may affect his or their prosperity interesting to us, and I shall take care to assure him of the sensibility with which the United States participate in the affliction which a loss so much to be regretted must have occasioned both to him and them.[65]

To JOHN RUTLEDGE

New York, September 29, 1789.

Dear Sir: In requesting your candid attention to a subject, which I deem highly interesting to our Country, I am convinced that I address myself well.

Regarding the due administration of Justice as the strongest cement of good government, I have considered the first organization of the Judicial Department as essential to the happiness of our Citizens, and to the stability of our political system. Under this impression it has been an invariable object of anxious solicitude with me to select the fittest Characters to expound the laws and dispense justice.

This sentiment, Sir, has over-ruled, in my mind, the opinions of some of your friends, when they suggested that you might not accept an appointment to a seat on the Supreme Bench of the United States. The hesitation, which those opinions produced, was but momentary, when I reflected on the confidence which your former services had established in the public

[65] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*. (See Washington's letter to the King of France, Oct. 7, 1789, *post*.)

On September 29 Washington signed the ratification of the Indian treaty of Fort Harmar, Jan. 9, 1789. The original is in the Department of State with the treaty.

On this same day (September 29) the President issued his proclamation, proclaiming the treaty of Fort Harmar. The original is in the Department of State.

On this same day (September 29) Washington sent a message to the Senate, nominating the officers of the Army of the United States. This message and list is recorded in the "Letter Book," and is printed in the *Executive Journal*.

mind, and when I exercised my own belief of your disposition still further to sacrifice to the good of your Country.

In any event I concluded that I should discharge the duty which I owe to the Public by nominating to this important office a Person whom I judged best qualified to execute its functions, and you will allow me to repeat the wish that I may have the pleasure to hear of your acceptance of the appointment. My best respects are offered to Mrs. Rutledge and with sentiments of very great esteem and regard I am etc.[66]

To THOMAS HARTLEY

New York, September 29, 1789.

Sir: As you are about to return to your own State, you will oblige me by informing the Gentlemen to whom you wrote sometime ago, or any others in whom you can place entire confidence that I will give £400 Pennsa. currency (to be paid in specie) for twenty mares of the annexed description, delivered at my Seat of Mount Vernon in Virginia (which is only nine miles from Alexandria) and I will allow besides a commission of 5 pr Cent. on the said £400 as compensation for the trouble of purchasing, which two sums I mean to be in full of all expences, risk &ca. in delivering of them as above.

Description

None of the above Mares are to be under *15 hands high* by a proper standard measure, not to exceed *six years old* last spring, *and to be warranted sound.* Bays or Blacks would be preferred, but no colour rejected. They must not be low in flesh, or have marks of abuse about them, being a little rubbed by collars will not be regarded.

[66] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers.*

If a contract of this sort can be made, the mares must all be taken to Mount Vernon at one time, and duplicate descriptive lists of their colours, brands, and marks, minutely detailed. One of which must be sent to me by the post, when the mares set off for Mount Vernon, the other will accompany them to that place, in order to receive at the foot of it the receipt of my Nephew Major George Augt. Washington, who lives at my house, which receipt will entitle the Purchaser, or bearer thereof with your order annexed to the aforesaid sum of £420 which shall be paid at this place at any moment it is presented.

As I have no doubt of getting mares answering this description for 40 or 50 dollars and am assured of this fact by Col. Thos. Lowry, I am not inclined to exceed the sum of £420. for the above mentioned 20, and therefore beg the favor of you as soon after your return home as you can make it convenient to let me know if I may depend upon that number in your parts for this price. Should this commission be executed to the entire satisfaction of my Nephew, who will be charged with the examination of the mares, and will be instructed to reject any, and all, that deviate from the above description, it is not only possible, but very probable I may take twenty more on the same terms, from the same or other persons, being more convenient than any that could be bought in Jersey. I am etc.[67]

To THE SENATE AND THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES[68]

United States, September 29, 1789.

Gentlemen of the Senate: Having been yesterday informed by a joint Committee of both Houses of Congress, that they

[67] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

[68] The "Letter Book" records this as a "Message to both Houses of Congress," although it is addressed specifically by the superscription to the Senate.

had agreed to a recess to commence this day and to continue untill the first Monday in January next; I take the earliest opportunity of acquainting you, that considering how long and laborious this session has been, and the reasons which I presume have produced this resolution, it does not appear to me expedient to recommend any measures to their consideration at present, or now to call your attention, Gentlemen, to any of those matters in my department, which require your advice and consent and yet remain to be dispatched.[69]

To THE MARSHALS AND ATTORNEYS OF THE SEVERAL DISTRICTS OF THE UNITED STATES

United States, September 30, 1789.

Sir: I have the pleasure to inform you that you are appointed (Marshal or Attorney) for the District of ——— and your Commission is enclosed, accompanied with such Laws as have passed relative to the Judicial Department of the United States.

The high importance of the Judicial System in our National Government, made it an indispensable duty to select such Characters to fill the several offices in it as would discharge their respective trusts with honor to themselves and advantage to their Country.[70] I am etc.[69]

To THE ASSOCIATE JUSTICES OF THE SUPREME COURT

New York, September 30, 1789.

Sir: I experience peculiar pleasure in giving you notice of your appointment to the Office of an Associate Judge in the Supreme Court of the United States.

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[69] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

[70] A form letter. The names of the marshals and attorneys nominated and confirmed are in the *Executive Journal*, vol. 1, pp. 29–33.

Considering the Judicial System as the chief Pillar upon which our national Government must rest, I have thought it my duty to nominate, for the high Offices in that department, such men as I conceived would give dignity and lustre to our National Character; and I flatter myself that the love which you bear to our Country, and a desire to promote general happiness, will lead you to a ready acceptance of the enclosed Commission, which is accompanied with such Laws as have passed relative to your Office. I have the honor etc.[71]

To THE DISTRICT JUDGES OF THE UNITED STATES

United States, September 30, 1789.

Sir: I have the pleasure to enclose you a Commission as Judge of the United States for the District of , to which Office I have nominated and, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, have appointed you.

In my nomination of persons to fill Offices in the Judicial Department I have been guided by the importance of the object, considering it as of the first magnitude, and as the pillar upon which our political fabric must rest. I have endeavored to bring into the high Offices of its administration such Characters as will give stability and dignity to our National Government; and I persuade myself that they will discover a due desire to promote the happiness of our Country by a ready acceptance of their several appointments.

The Laws which have passed relative to your Office accompany the Commission.[72] I am etc.[73]

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[71] A form letter. The "Letter Book" records that it was also sent to the Attorney General. Of the associate judges appointed, to wit, John Rutledge, James Wilson, William Cushing, Robert Hanson Harrison, and John Blair, only Harrison declined.

[72] A form letter. The names of the judges nominated and confirmed are in the *Executive Journal*, vol. 1, pp. 29–33.

[73] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

To OTHO HOLLAND WILLIAMS

New York, October 2, 1789.

Dear Sir: From the purport of your letter of I have reason to fear that my request of you to forward the plants which Mrs. Carroll had been so obliging as to offer me was so incautiously expressed, as to lead you into a mistake, and myself consequently into an expence which I had no intention to incur. More than to embrace the opportunity of the Packet from Baltimore to Alexandria or any other casual conveyance from the one to the other by which the above plants could easily have been sent, I had not extended my ideas, and if a large vessel should have been employed for this purpose the cost will far exceed the value of the things. If not too late now I could wish to avoid it.

I had no expectation of large trees, or of any plants beyond their infant growth, the first would be a robbery of the good Lady without answering my purposes so well as things of smaller growth. But in any event I beg you to receive my sincere thanks for the pains you have taken. The cost shall be paid so soon as you make it known to Dear Sir Yours etc.[74]

To THE SUPREME EXECUTIVES OF THE STATES

United States, October 2, 1789.

Sir: In pursuance of the enclosed resolution I have the honor to transmit your Excellency a copy of the amendments[75] pro-

[74] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

[75] The first Amendments (12) proposed to the Constitution by the resolve of Congress (passed by the House September 24, and concurred in by the Senate, September 25). Ten of these proposed amendments were duly ratified and added to the Constitution. They are known as "The Bill of Rights." By the resolve of Congress the amendments were also sent to Rhode Island and North Carolina, neither of which had ratified the Constitution at this date.

posed to be added to the Constitution of the United States. I have the honor etc.[76]

THANKSGIVING PROCLAMATION[77]

City of New York, October 3, 1789.

Whereas it is the duty of all Nations to acknowledge the providence of Almighty God, to obey his will, to be grateful for his benefits, and humbly to implore his protection and favor, and Whereas both Houses of Congress have by their joint Committee[78] requested me "to recommend to the People of the United States a day of public thanks-giving and prayer to be observed by acknowledging with grateful hearts the many signal favors of Almighty God, especially by affording them an opportunity peaceably to establish a form of government for their safety and happiness."

Now therefore I do recommend and assign Thursday the 26th. day of November next to be devoted by the People of these States to the service of that great and glorious Being, who is the beneficent Author of all the good that was, that is, or that will be. That we may then all unite in rendering unto him our sincere and humble thanks, for his kind care and protection of the People of this country previous to their becoming a Nation, for the signal and manifold mercies, and the favorable interpositions of his providence, which we experienced in the course and conclusion of the late war, for the great degree of tranquillity, union, and plenty, which we have since enjoyed, for the peaceable and rational manner in which we have been

[76] In the writing of William Jackson. From the letter sent to Gov. Beverley Randolph, of Virginia.

[77] A copy of this proclamation was sent to the executives of the States by the President in a brief form letter (October 3). This form is recorded in the "Letter Book" in the *Washington Papers*.

[78] The Senate concurred in the House resolve to this effect, September 26.

enabled to establish constitutions of government for our safety and happiness, and particularly the national One now lately instituted, for the civil and religious liberty with which we are blessed, and the means we have of acquiring and diffusing useful knowledge and in general for all the great and various favors which he hath been pleased to confer upon us.

And also that we may then unite in most humbly offering our prayers and supplications to the great Lord and Ruler of Nations and beseech him to pardon our national and other transgressions, to enable us all, whether in public or private stations, to perform our several and relative duties properly and punctually, to render our national government a blessing to all the People, by constantly being a government of wise, just and constitutional laws, discreetly and faithfully executed and obeyed, to protect and guide all Sovereigns and Nations (especially such as have shown kindness unto us) and to bless them with good government, peace, and concord. To promote the knowledge and practice of true religion and virtue, and the encrease of science among them and Us, and generally to grant unto all Mankind such a degree of temporal prosperity as he alone knows to be best.[79]

To THE ACTING SECRETARY OF STATE

New York, October 5, 1789.

Sir: It is with singular pleasure that I address you as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, for which Office your Commission is enclosed.

In nominating you for the important station which you now fill, I not only acted in conformity to my best judgment; but I trust I did a grateful thing to the good Citizens of these

[79] From the original in the writing of William Jackson. It was signed by Washington, who had written in the day "third" in the date.

This was the first national Thanksgiving Day proclamation under the Constitution.

United States; and I have a full confidence that the love which you bear to our Country, and a desire to promote the general happiness, will not suffer you to hesitate a moment to bring into action the talents, knowledge and integrity which are so necessary to be exercised at the head of that department which must be considered as the key-stone of our political fabric. I have the honor etc.[80]

To GOVERNOR ARTHUR ST. CLAIR

New York, October 6, 1789.

Sir: Congress having, by their act of the 29th of September last, empowered me to call forth the militia of the States respectively, for the protection of the frontiers from the incursions of the hostile Indians, I have thought proper to make this communication to you, together with the instructions herein contained.

It is highly necessary that I should, as soon as possible, possess full information whether the Wabash and Illinois Indians are most inclined for war or peace. If for the former, it is proper that I should be informed of the means which will most probably induce them to peace. If a peace can be established with the said Indians on reasonable terms, the interests of the United States dictate that it should be effected as soon as possible.

You will, therefore, inform the said Indians of the disposition of the General Government on this subject, and of their reasonable desire that there should be a cessation of hostilities as a prelude to a treaty. If, however, notwithstanding your intimations to them, they should continue their hostilities, or meditate any incursions against the frontiers of Virginia and Pennsylvania, or against any of the troops or posts of the United

[80] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

States, and it should appear to you the time of execution would be so near as to forbid your transmitting the information to me, and receiving my further orders thereon, then you are hereby authorized and empowered in my name to call on the lieutenants of the nearest counties of Virginia and Pennsylvania for such detachments of militia as you may judge proper, not exceeding, however, one thousand from Virginia and five hundred from Pennsylvania.

I have directed letters to be written to the Executives of Virginia and Pennsylvania,[81] informing them of the before-recited act of Congress, and that I have given you these conditional directions, so that there may not be any obstructions to such measures as shall be necessary to be taken by you for calling forth the militia, agreeably to the instructions herein contained.

The said militia to act in conjunction with the Federal troops in such operations, offensive or defensive, as you and the commanding officer of the troops conjointly shall judge necessary for the public service and the protection of the inhabitants and the posts.

The said militia, while in actual service, to be on the Continental establishment of pay and rations. They are to arm and equip themselves, but to be furnished with public ammunition, if necessary; and no charge for the pay of said militia will be valid, unless supported by regular musters, made by a field or other officer of the Federal troops, to be appointed by the commanding officer of the troops.

I would have it observed forcibly that a war with the Wabash Indians ought to be avoided by all means consistently with the security of the frontier inhabitants, the security of the troops, and the national dignity. In the exercise of the present indiscriminate hostilities, it is extremely difficult, if not impossible,

[81] Not now found in the *Washington Papers*.

to say that a war without further measures would be just on the part of the United States.

But if, after manifesting clearly to the Indians the dispositions of the General Government for the preservation of peace, and the extension of a just protection to the said Indians, they should continue their incursions, the United States will be constrained to punish them with severity.

You will also proceed, as soon as you can with safety, to execute the orders of the late Congress respecting the inhabitants at St. Vincennes and at the Kaskaskia and the other villages on the Mississippi. It is a circumstance of some importance that the said inhabitants should, as soon as possible, possess the lands to which they are entitled by some known and fixed principles.

I have directed a number of copies of the treaty made by you at Fort Harmar with the Wyandots, etc., on the 9th of January last, to be printed and forwarded to you, together with the ratification and my proclamation enjoining the observance thereof.

As it may be of high importance to obtain a precise and accurate knowledge of the several waters which empty into the Ohio on the north-west, and of those which discharge themselves into the Lakes Erie and Michigan, the length of the portages between, and nature of the ground, an early and pointed attention thereto is earnestly recommended.[82]

To THE KING OF FRANCE

New York, October 9, 1789.

To our great and beloved Friend and Ally, his Most Christian Majesty.

By the change which has taken place in the national government of the United States, the honor of receiving and answering

[82] From the printed text in the *St. Clair Papers* (edited by Henry Smith, Cincinnati: 1882), vol. 2, p. 125.

your Majesty's letter of the 7th. of June, to "the President and Members of Congress" has devolved upon me.

The painful event communicated in it, could not fail to affect the sensibility, and excite the regret, of the People of the United States, who have so much reason to feel an interest in whatever concerns the happiness of your Majesty, your family, and Nation. They very sincerely condole with you on the occasion, and are sensible how greatly this misfortune must have been enhanced by those qualities in the Dauphin, which promised to have rendered that Prince a blessing, not only to his family, but to his Nation.

Permit me to assure your Majesty of the unceasing gratitude and attachment of the United States and of our prayers, that the Almighty will be pleased to keep you, our great and beloved Friend and Ally under his constant guidance and protection.[83]

To CHRISTIAN SENFF

New York, October 12, 1789.

Sir: I have received your letter of the 10th of May, and have no doubt of the utility of the plan which you propose of taking an Accurate survey of the inland Navigation from New York to East Florida; but there has been during the past Session, such a multiplicity of business of a pressing nature before Congress that they had no opportunity of attending to any matters which could admit of delay, and your proposition being of such a nature as not to demand an *immediate* attention, to the exclusion

[83] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

On October 9 the Synod of the Dutch Reformed Church in North America sent an address to Washington, the answer to which is undated, but recorded immediately, following the address in the "Letter Book" in the *Washington Papers*. In the answer he stated: "I readily join with you that 'while just government protects all in their religious rights, true religion affords to government its surest support.'"

of more urgent affairs, it can be laid before Congress at a future period when they will take such measures thereon as their judgment may direct. I am etc.[84]

To THOMAS NEWTON, JUNIOR

New York, October 12, 1789.

Sir: A variety of avocations has prevented my giving an earlier acknowledgment to your letter of the 17th of July. I will now thank you, Sir, to furnish me with an Acct. of the quantity and cost of the materials which have been placed on Cape Henry by the Commissioners appointed by the Assembly of Virginia for the purpose of building a light-house, as you have been so obliging as to offer to do it.

I am sorry that you have not yet received any of my out-standing debts, but am not without hope that you will be able to collect at least some part of them shortly.[85] This case is hard, and I believe singular. I am etc.[84]

To REVEREND WILLIAM McWHIR

New York, October 12, 1789.

Sir: I have received your letter of the 18 ult. and am glad to learn from it, that my Nephews apply with diligence to arithmetic and English composition. These are two branches in which I have always thought them deficient, and have ever been pressingly desirous that they should be made well acquainted with them. George may be instructed in the french language,

[84] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers.*

[85] In a brief note of November 23, Washington acknowledged the above account from Newton with a statement of the outstanding debts due Washington "which I make no doubt you will use your best endeavors to recover." This note is entered in the "Letter Book" in the *Washington Papers.*

but Lawrence had better apply himself, for the present, to his arithmetic, writing, and composition.

As you have failed in your endeavours to obtain a Mathematical Instructor, it is not probable that any success would attend an advertisement in a paper here; however, I will have one inserted. I can give no particular opinion resepcting the Boy whom you represent to be an uncommon Genius; but I would cheerfully give any reasonable encouragement towards the cultivation of talents which bid fair to be useful. I am &c.[86]

To HENDRICK WILMANS

New York, October 12, 1789.

Sir: I have now before me your several favors of the 19th of March, the 12. and 24 of June, and must beg your acceptance of my best thanks for the satisfactory manner in which you have executed the commission that you was so polite as to take upon yourself. I also feel myself obliged by the offer of your future services.

The Gardner who you have been so good as to procure for me arrived here on the 14 of September, and set off a few days after for my seat in Virginia, where he will enter upon his duty, and, from the account which you have given of him, I have no doubt but I shall be pleased with his services. The plants and seeds, which you were so good as to send to me arrived safe, and the Gardner has taken them to Virginia with him.

In your letter of the 13 of June you observed that you were in treaty with a Weaver who you expected to engage for me, but as you mentioned nothing more of the matter in your subsequent letter, I presume that you were disappointed in your expectations of engaging him. However, if you should in future

[86] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

have an opportunity of procuring a good linen weaver for me, upon reasonable terms, I will thank you to do it, and, in that case, it is my wish that he should be sent over in some vessel bound to the Potomac, for the expence of transporting a person from hence to Virginia is no inconsiderable addition to the cost of obtaining him. I am etc.[87]

To MRS. ELIZABETH WASHINGTON LEWIS

New York, October 12, 1789.

My Dear Sister: Your letter of the first of this month came duly to hand. I believe Bushrod is right with respect to the distribution of the negroes. When I gave my opinion that you were entitled to a child's part it did not occur to me that my Mother held them under the will of my Father who had made a distribution of them after her death. If this is the case, and I believe it is, you do not come in for any part of them.

I thought I had desired in my former letter that all personal property not specifically disposed of by the will had better be sold. This is my opinion as it is from the Crops and personal Estate that the Debts must be paid. The surplus, be it more or less, is divided among her children; and this I presume had better be done in money than in Stock, old furniture or any other troublesome articles which might be inconvenient to remove, but in one or the other of these ways they must be disposed of, as they are not given by the Will. If there is anything coming to the estate it ought to be collected. In a word, all the property except Lands and negroes is considered as personal, and after the Debts are discharged is to be equally divided into five parts one of which five you are entitled to.

[87] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

A sort of epidemical cold has seized every [illegible] under it, hitherto I have escaped and propose in two or three days to set out for Boston by way of relaxation from business and re-establishment of my health after the long and tedeous complaint with which I have been afflicted, and from which it is not more than ten days I have been recovered, that is since the incision which was made by the Doctors for this imposthume on my thigh has been cured.

Mrs. Washington joins me in every good wish for you and our other relations in Fredericksburg. And I am My dear Sister, Yours, etc.[88]

To COMTE DE ROCHAMBEAU

New York, October 13, 1789.

Dear General: I have been honored with the receipt of your letters of the 31st of January and 17th of February last; and I should have had the pleasure to address you sooner, but a tedious indisposition, and very numerous avocations, since my recovery, have so entirely engaged my time, as to leave me but very little, or no leisure for the agreeable duties of friendship.

[88] The text is from the printed letter in Moncure D. Conway's *George Washington and Mount Vernon*, Long Island Historical Society Memoirs (vol. 4).

On October 12 Washington replied briefly to an address, in French, from the Oneida nation, dated August 26. Both address and the reply are recorded in the "Letter Book" in the *Washington Papers*.

On this same day (October 12) Washington wrote briefly to John Mason of the firm of Fenwick, Mason & Co. of Bordeaux, asking him to accept a set of exchange on Jauge & du Preis, "for money advanced to a Frenchman who was in distress, to pay his passage to France." This letter is recorded in the "Letter Book" in the *Washington Papers*.

On this same day (October 12) Washington also sent a packet of seeds from St. Vincent to Henry Laurens and Professor Madison, with a brief note, which is recorded in the "Letter Book."

On this same day (October 12) Lear wrote to the postmaster at Providence, R. I., in reply to his inquiry, that the President "never interferes in the appointment of any Officers whose appointment does not by Law come under his immediate cognizance. Mr. Osgood must act as he pleases in the appointment of his deputies." Lear's letter is recorded in the "Letter Book" in the *Washington Papers*.

I embrace the obliging offer of His Excellency the Count de Moustier (who favors my letter with his care) to renew an intercourse which will ever give me pleasure, and to enhance your satisfaction by telling you, that the political affairs of the United States are in so pleasing a train as to promise respectability to their government, and happiness to our Citizens. The opposition offered to the reform of our federal constitution has in a great measure subsided, and there is every reason to predict political harmony and individual happiness to the States and citizens of confederated America.

The Revolution, announced by the intelligence from France, must be interesting to the nations of the world in general, and is certainly of the greatest importance to the country in which it has happened. I am persuaded I express the sentiments of my fellow-citizens, when I offer an earnest prayer, that it may terminate in the permanent honor and happiness of your government and people. With sentiments of respectful affection &c.[89]

To MARQUIS DE LA ROUERIE[90]

New York, October 13, 1789.

Dear Sir: I have been honored with the receipt of your letters of the 5th of October 1788 and 18th of June last; the former I only received a few days ago by Major de Berdt.

In answer to your observations respecting the monies due to your Officers from the United States, I can only express my regret that the political circumstances of the country have not heretofore capacitated a more punctual complyance with its engagements. But as there is a prospect that the finances of America will improve with the progression of its government, I can not but entertain a belief that the cause of the complaint

[89] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.
[90] Charles Armand-Tuffin, Marquis de La Rouerie.

will be removed and Confidence restored to our public Creditors. The measures to effect this desireable purpose must be proportioned to the means we possess: and altho' they may be slow, yet I trust they will be certain in their operation. I shall add to your satisfaction by informing you that the political affairs of the United States are in so pleasing a train as to promise respectability to our government and happiness to our Citizens.

The opposition offered to the reform of our federal Constitution . . .[91]

I am much obliged by the flattering and Affectionate Sentiments expressed in your letters, and I request you to believe that I etc.[92]

To WAKELIN WELCH & SON

New York, October 13, 1789.

Gentn: I have requested my friend and acquaintance Gouvr Morris Esqr when in, either London or Paris, to procure and send to me by the first conveyance to this City or to Philadelphia Plated Coolers, Mirrers, and Table ornaments and to draw upon you for the amount which please to pay and place it to the account of Gentn. Your etc.[93]

To COMTE D'ESTAING

New York, October 13, 1789.

Dear General: I have been honored with the receipt of your letter of the 8th of June, enclosing a list of Officers who wish to receive diplomas from the society of the Cincinnati.

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[91] The omitted portion is the same as that found in Washington's letter to Comte de Rochambeau, Oct. 13, 1789, *q. v.*

[92] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers.*

[93] The original is in the Frederick S. Peck Collection, Barrington, R. I.

General Knox will forward to your Excellency, by the Count de Moustier, who is so obliging as to favor this letter with his care, Diplomas for the first forty five names on your list, he has sent to the Commandant of the Squadron, now at Boston, Diplomas for the Vicomte de Pontever Gien,[94] Marquis de la Galisoniere,[95] Monsieur de Durand de Braije,[96] and the Marquis de Traversay,[97] and he hopes to obtain of sufficiency of Diplomas to complete your list, which he will transmit to you by the next Packet for France.

I am assured that I shall add to your Excellency's satisfaction by telling you that the political circumstances of the United States are in so pleasing a train as to promise respectability to their Government, and happiness to our Citizens.

The opposition offered to the reform of our federal Constitution . . .[98]

With sentiments of respectful Affection and esteem, I have the honor etc.[99]

To GOUVERNEUR MORRIS

New York, October 13, 1789.

Sir: It being important to both Countries, that the Treaty of Peace between Great Britain and the United States, should be observed and performed with perfect and mutual good Faith; and that a Treaty of Commerce should be concluded by them on Principles of reciprocal Advantage to both, I wish to be ascertained of the Sentiments and Intentions of the Court of London on these interesting Subjects.

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[94] Henri Jean Baptiste, Vicomte de Pontevès-Giens.
[95] Athanase Scipion Barrin, Marquis de La Galissonnière.
[96] Jean Baptiste Alexandre Durand de Braye.
[97] Jean Baptiste Prévost de Sensac, Marquis de Traversay.
[98] The omitted portion is the same as that found in Washington's letter to Comte de Rochambeau, Oct. 13, 1789, *q. v.*
[99] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers.*

It appears to me most expedient to have these Inquiries made informally, by a private Agent; and understanding that you will soon be in London, I desire you in that Capacity, and on the Authority and Credit of this Letter, to converse with His Britannic Majesty's Ministers on these Points, vizt: whether there be any and what Objections to now performing those Articles in the Treaty, which remain to be performed on his Part: and whether they incline to a Treaty of Commerce with the United States on any and what Terms.

This Communication ought regularly to be made to you by the Secretary of State, but that Office not being at present filled, my Desire of avoiding Delays induces me to make it under my own Hand. It is my wish to promote Harmony and mutual Satisfaction between the two Countries, and it would give me great Pleasure to find that the Result of your Agency in the Business now committed to you, will conduce to that End. I am etc.[1]

To GOUVERNEUR MORRIS

New York, October 13, 1789.

Sir: My letter to you, herewith enclosed, will give you the credence necessary to enable you to do the business, which it commits to your management, and which I am persuaded you will readily undertake.

Your inquiries will commence by observing that, as the present constitution of government, and of the courts established in pursuance of it, removes the objections heretofore made to putting the United States in possession of their frontier posts, it is natural to expect from the assurances of his Majesty and the national good faith that no unnecessary delays will take place.

[1] From a copy in the Public Record Office, London, F. O. 4, vol. 8.

Proceed then to press a speedy performance of the treaty respecting that object.

Remind them of the article by which it was agreed, that negroes belonging to our citizens should not be carried away, and of the reasonableness of making compensation for them. Learn with precision, if possible, what they mean to do on this head.

The commerce between the two countries you well understand. You are apprized of the sentiments and feelings of the United States on the present state of it; and you doubtless have heard that in the late session of Congress a very respectable number of both houses were inclined to a discrimination of duties unfavorable to Britain, and that it would have taken place but for conciliatory considerations, and the probability that the late change in our government and circumstances would lead to more satisfactory arrangements.

Request to be informed therefore, whether they contemplate a treaty of commerce with the United States, and on what principles or terms in general. In treating this subject, let it be strongly impressed on your mind, that the privilege of carrying our productions in our vessels to their Islands, and of bringing in return the productions of those Islands to our own ports and markets, is regarded here as of the highest importance; and you will be careful not to countenance any idea of our dispensing with it in a treaty. Ascertain if possible, their views on this point; for it would not be expedient to commence negotiations without previously having good reasons to expect a satisfactory termination of them.

It may also be well for you to take a proper occasion of remarking, that their omitting to send a minister here, when the United States sent one to London, did not make an agreeable impression on this country; and request to know what would be their future conduct on similar occasions.

It is in my opinion very important, that we avoid errors in our system of policy respecting Great Britain; and this can only be done by forming a right judgment of their disposition and views. Hence you will perceive how interesting it is that you obtain the information in question, and that the business be so managed as that it may receive every advantage which abilities, address and delicacy can promise and afford. I am, etc.[2]

To GOUVERNEUR MORRIS

New York, October 13, 1789.

Dear Sir: In my first moments of leisure I acknowledge the receipt of your several favors of the 23 of February, 3 of March and 29 of April.

To thank you for the interesting communications contained in those letters, and for the pains you have taken to procure me a watch, is all, or nearly all, I shall attempt in this letter; for I could only repeat things, were I to set about it, which I have reason to believe have been regularly communicated to you in detail, at the periods which gave birth to them. It may not however be unpleasing to you to hear in one word that the national government is organized, and, as far as my information goes, to the satisfaction of all parties. That opposition to it is either no more, or hides its head. That it is hoped and expected it will take strong root, and that the non acceding States will very soon become Members of the Union. No doubt is entertained of North Carolina, nor would there be of Rhode Island had not the majority of that People bid adieu, long since to every principle of honor, common sense, and honesty. A material change however has taken place, it is said, at the late

[2]The text is from Ford, who took it from Sparks. No record of this letter is now found in the "Letter Book" or elsewhere in the *Washington Papers*.

election of representatives, and confident assurances are given from that circumstance of better dispositions in their Legislature at its next session, now about to be held.

The revolution which has been effected in France is of so wonderful a nature that the mind can hardly realize the fact. If it ends as our last accounts to the first of August predict that nation will be the most powerful and happy in Europe; but I fear though it has gone triumphantly through the first paroxysm, it is not the last it has to encounter before matters are finally settled. In a word the revolution is of too great magnitude to be effected in so short a space, and with the loss of so little blood. The mortification of the King, the intrigues of the Queen, and the discontent of the Princes and the Noblesse will foment divisions, if possible, in the national assembly, and avail themselves of every faux pas in the formation of the constitution if they do not give a more open, active opposition. To these the licentiousness of the People on one hand and sanguinary punishments on the other will alarm the best disposed friends to the measure, and contribute not a little to the overthrow of their object. Great temperance, firmness, and foresight are necessary in the movements of that Body. To forbear running from one extreme to another is no easy matter, and, should this be the case, rocks and shelves not visible at present may wreck the vessel.

This letter is an evidence, though of a trifling sort, that in the commencement of any work one rarely sees the progress or end of it. I declared to you in the beginning that I had little to say; I have got beyond the second page, and find I have a good deal to add; but that no time or paper may be wasted in a useless preface I will come to the point.

Will you then, my good Sir, permit me to ask the favor of you to provide and send to me by the first Ship, bound to this

place, or Philadelphia, mirrors for a table, with neat and fashionable but not expensive ornaments for them; such as will do credit to your taste. The mirrors will of course be in pieces that they may be adapted to the company, (the size of it I mean) the aggregate length of them may be ten feet, the breadth two feet. The frames may be plated ware, or any thing else more fashionable but not more expensive. If I am defective recur to what you have seen on Mr. Robert Morris's table for my ideas *generally*. Whether these things can be had on better terms and in a better style in Paris than in London I will not undertake to decide. I recollect however to have had plated ware from both places, and those from the latter came cheapest; but a single instance is no evidence of a general fact.

Of plated ware may be made I conceive handsome and useful Coolers for wine *at* and *after* dinner. Those I am in need of viz. *eight* double ones (for madeira and claret the wines usually drank at dinner) each of the apertures to be sufficient to contain a pint decanter, with an allowance in the depth of it for ice at bottom so as to raise the neck of the decanter above the cooler; between the apertures a handle is to be placed by which these double coolers may with convenience be removed from one part of the table to another. For the wine *after* dinner *four* quadruple coolers will be necessary each aperture of which to be of the size of a *quart* decanter or quart bottle for four sorts of wine. These decanters or bottles to have ice at bottom, and to be elevated thereby as above; a central handle here also will be wanting. Should my description be defective, your imagination is fertile and on this I shall rely. One idea however I must impress you with and that is in whole or part to avoid extravagance. For extravagance would not comport

with my own inclination, nor with the example which ought to be set. The reason why I prefer an aperture for *every* decanter or bottle to coolers that would contain two and four is that whether full or empty the bottles will always stand upright and never be at variance with each other.

The letter enclosed with your draught accompanying it will provide the means for payment. The clumsy manner in which Merchants (or rather their Tradesmen) execute commissions, where taste is required, for persons at a distance must be my apology, and the best that can be offered by Dear Sir &c.

Mrs. Washington presents her compliments to you.

P. S. I was in the very act of sealing this letter when yours of the 31st. of July from Dieppe was put into my hands. Accept my sincere thanks for the important communications contained in it, and for the tables[3] which accompanied. I shall add no more now, except that in the morning I commence a tour, though rather late in the season, through the States eastward of this. Adieu.[4]

To THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY

United States, October 13, 1789.

Sir: The sum of two thousand five Dollars is necessary to be advanced to take up Notes which were given for money advanced for the household of the President of the United States previous to the organization of the Treasury Department.

This sum added to two thousand Dollars which you have already advanced for the purpose of taking up Notes, will compleat

[3]Morris had written (July 31): "I . . . send some Tables which contains the political military pecuniary and commercial State of this Country. I believe them to be tolerably authentic, as far as they go." Morris's letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

[4]From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

the payment of all Monies advanced for the use of the President of the United States previous to your coming into Office. One thousand Dollars will likewise be wanting for the President and a Dft. on Boston for five hundred. In my absence Mr. Robt. Lewis will draw from you such money as may be wanting for the use of the House-hold during the journey of the President. I have the honor etc.[5]

*To THOMAS JEFFERSON

New York, October 13, 1789.

Sir: In the selection of characters to fill the important offices of Government in the United States I was naturally led to contemplate the talents and disposition which I knew you to possess and entertain for the Service of your Country. And without being able to consult your inclination, or to derive any knowledge of your intentions from your letters either to myself or to any other of your friends, I was determined, as well by motives of private regard as a conviction of public propriety, to nominate you for the Department of State, which, under its present organization, involves many of the most interesting objects of the Executive Authority. But grateful as your acceptance of this Commission would to be me, I am at the sametime desirous to accommodate to your wishes, and I have therefore forborne to nominate your Successor at the Court of Versailles until I should be informed of your determination.

Being on the eve of a journey through the Eastern States, with a view to observe the situation of the Country, and in a hope of perfectly reestablishing my health, which a series of

[5] This letter, signed "Tobias Lear," is entered in the "Letter Book" in the *Washington Papers.*

indisposition has much impaired, I have deemed it proper to make this communication of your appointment in order that you might lose no time should it be your [wish] to visit Virginia during the recess of Congress, which will probably be the most convenient season, both as it may respect your private concerns and the public service.

Unwilling as I am to interfere in the direction of your choice of Assistants, I shall only take the liberty of observing to you that, from warm recommendations which I have received in behalf of Roger Alden, Esqr., Assistant Secretary to the late Congress, I have placed all the Papers thereunto belonging under his care. Those Papers which more properly appertain to the Office of Foreign-Affairs are under the Superintendence of Mr. Jay, who has been so obliging as to continue his good-offices, and they are in the immediate charge of Mr. Remson.[6] With sentiments of very great esteem and regard, &c.

I take this occasion to acknowledge the receipt of your several favors of the 4th and 5th Decr. of the last, and 10th. of May of the present year and to thank you for the communications therein.[7]

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[6] Henry Remson, jr.

[7] From the original in the *Jefferson Papers* in the Library of Congress.

Jefferson's letter of December 15 from Chesterfield, Va., acknowledged this, and Washington's letter to Jefferson of November 30 stated: "When I contemplate the extent of that office, embracing as it does the principal mass of domestic administration, together with the foreign, I cannot be insensible of my inequality to it . . . but it is not for an individual to chuse his post. you are to marshal us as may best be for the public good: and it is only in case of it's being indifferent to you that I would avail myself of the option you have so kindly offered in your letter. if you think it better to transfer me to another post, my inclination must be no obstacle; nor shall it be, if there is any desire to suppress the office I now hold, or to reduce it's grade. in either of these cases be so so good as to signify to me by another line your ultimate wish, and I shall conform to it cordially. if it should be to remain at New York, my chief comfort will be to work under your eye, my only shelter the authority of your name, and the wisdom of measures to be dictated by you, and implicitly executed by me. whatever you may please to decide, I do not see that the matters which have called me hither will permit me to shorten the stay I originally asked; that is to say, to set out on my journey Northward till the month of March. as early as possible in

To MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE

New York, October 14, 1789.

This is the first time I have written to you, my dear Marquis, since I have been in this place, and I have not received a line from you in the same space of time. This has been a long interval of silence between two persons whose habits of correspondence have been so uninterruptedly kept up as ours; but the new and arduous scenes in which we have both been lately engaged will afford a mutual excuse.

I wrote to you very fully in my last letters from Mount Vernon, and since that time the gazettes, which I know you receive, have given a pretty ample detail of our public proceedings. I therefore take the advantage of the politeness of the Comte de Moustier, (who is about returning to France) more with a view of assuring you that you are still remembered by me with affection, than with an intent to convey any political intelligence. I will only observe, generally, that the prospect is favorable to the political happiness of this country.

The revolution, which has taken place with you, is of such magnitude and of so momentous a nature that we hardly yet

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that month, I shall have the honor of paying my respects to you in New York." This letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

Madison, in a letter dated Georgetown, Md. (D. C.), Jan. 4, 1790, reported to the President his reaction to Jefferson's feeling as follows: "A few days before I was allowed to set out for N. York, I took a ride to Monticello. The answer of Mr. Jefferson to the notification of his appointment will no doubt have explained the state of his mind on the subject. I was sorry to find them so little biased in favor of the domestic service allotted to him, but was glad that his difficulties seemed to result chiefly from what I take to be an erroneous view of the kind and quantity of business annexed to that which constituted the foreign department. He apprehends that it will far exceed the latter which has of itself no terrors to him. On the other hand it was supposed, and I believe truly that the domestic part will be very trifling, and for that reason improper to be made a distinct department. After all if the whole business can be executed by one man, Mr. Jefferson must be equal to it; If not he will be relieved by a necessary division of it. All whom I have heard speak on the subject are remarkably solicitous for his acceptance, and I flatter myself that they will not in the final event be disappointed." Madison's letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

dare to form a conjecture about it. We however trust, and fervently pray that its consequences may prove happy to a nation, in whose fate we have so much cause to be interested and that its influence may be felt with pleasure by future generations.

Mrs. Washington joins me in best wishes to you and your amiable Partner. I am etc.[8]

To MRS. MARGARET CARROLL

New York, October 14, 1789.

Madam: The letter with which you were pleased to honor me dated the 25. of last month, came duly to hand. I know not how sufficiently to thank you for your polite and obliging compliance with my request, nor, in what manner to express my fears lest those motives should have led you into inconveniences. My Green House is by no means in perfect order, and if it was, it would not have been my wish to have robbed yours of any *grown* or bearing plants. If it is not too late I would again repeat and entreat that this may not happen.

Mrs. Washington joins me in thanking you for your polite invitation to Mount Clare (on the supposition that we should return to Virginia during the recess of Congress). For the more perfect reestablishment of my health among other considerations I am on the eve of a tour through the eastern States. We shall at all times have great pleasure in asking how you do and both of us unite in best wishes and respectful compliments. I have the honor etc.[8]

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[8] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

On October 14 Washington wrote to Otho Holland Williams, thanking him for his care and trouble in the matter of trees and plants from Mrs. Carroll, and requesting that if it was not too late, no large trees be sent "especially the one of which she has not a second. It is highly probable *this* tree, and perhaps *all* large ones would be lost to us both by the act of transportation unless very fine weather, a short passage, and *more* than *common* care are met with." This letter is in the Maryland Historical Society.

*To BURGES BALL AND CHARLES CARTER, JUNIOR

New Haven,[9] October 18, 1789.

Dear Sirs: Having set out on a tour through the Eastern States, it was at this place your letter of the 8th. Instt. overtook me.

Not having my fathers Will to recur to when I wrote to my Sister, nor any recollection of the Devises in it, I supposed She was entitled to a Child's part of the Negros; but, if they were otherwise disposed of, by that Will (as I believe is the case) She is certainly excluded; and the Sons only, and their representatives, come in. In this manner the devision must be made.

Everything of personal property, not specifically disposed of by my Mothers Will had better be sold: with the proceeds of which, and the Crops, the Debts must be paid. The surplus if any, must be divided among the heirs.

Being well convinced that the Gentlemen who were so obliging as to examine and set a value upon my Lots, acted from their best judgment, I am perfectly satisfied with their decision; and beg my thanks may be presented to them for the trouble they have had in this business. If they are not already sold, I am willing to allow three, instead of two years credit for the payment of the purchase money, Interest being paid. In a word, as I do not want to tenant them, I should be glad to sell them on *any reasonable terms,* as that kind of property, at a distance, is always troublesome and rarely productive.

I did not mean to give Mr. Mercer the trouble of stating any formal opinion, all I had in view was to know if the formali-

[9] On Thursday, October 15, about 9 a. m., Washington left New York on his tour through the Eastern States. He traveled 31 miles that day and lodged at Rye, in Westchester County. He reached New Haven, Conn., in the afternoon of October 17, and left that place at 6 a. m. on the 19th.

ties of the Law with respect to Inventory, appraising, &c. could be dispensed with. If it could, I was sure no other difficulty would arise, as I knew my Mothers dealings were small, and the business consequently easily closed.

I am exceedingly sorry to hear of the loss the Country has sustained from Frost. The Crops of Corn in this State (Connecticut) along the road I have travelled, are abundantly great.

I offer my best thanks to you for your kind services, and my best wishes to my Nieces and your families, and with sincere esteem etc.[10]

To GOVERNOR JOHN HANCOCK

Brookfield, October 22, 1789.[11]

Sir: A few miles west of this village I met the express, who delivered me your Excellency's letter of yesterday. I have been so fortunate as to proceed thus far, without any accident to delay my journey; should nothing occur to prevent me, I shall be at Weston to-morrow night, and I purpose taking dinner so early at Watertown on Saturday, as to reach Cambridge by half past two Oclock. Thence I presume we shall arrive within an hour at Boston.

I am highly sensible of the honor intended me: But could my wish prevail I should desire to visit your Metropolis without any parade, or extraordinary ceremony. From a wish to avoid giving trouble to private families, I determined, on leaving New York, to decline the honor of any invitation to quarters which I might receive while on my journey; and with a view to observe this rule, I had requested a Gentleman to

[10] From the original in the Ball Deposit in the Library of Congress.

[11] Washington reached Brookfield, Mass., on this date, but continued on to Spencer, 10 miles farther, where he lodged that night at Isaac Jenks's tavern.

engage lodgings for me during my stay at Boston. I beg your Excellency to be persuaded of the grateful sense which I entertain of the honor you intended to confer on me, and I desire to assure you of the respectful regard with which I am &c.[12]

To GOVERNOR JOHN HANCOCK

Weston, October 23, 1789.[13]

Sir: I have this moment received your Excellency's polite letter of to-day, and have the honor to inform you, that, in consequence of suggestions made by the Gentlemen from Boston and the Deputy Adjut. General (whom I met at Worcester this morning) that it would make it more convenient for the troops, many of whom lived at a distance from the place of parade, if I should pass through Cambridge at an earlier hour than I intended, I thought it best to alter the time of my arrival at that place, which I had the pleasure to mention to your Excellency in my letter of yesterday; and the alteration which I had made I immediately communicated to you by a letter, which the Gentlemen from Boston were so kind as to take charge of; but lest any accident should prevent that letter from getting to your hands I would here mention, that it is my determination to be at Cambridge to-morrow at 10 Oclock, and from thence proceed to Boston as soon as circumstances will permit, where it is probable I may arrive by 12 Oclock, and I will do myself the honor to accept your Excellency's polite

[12] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

[13] Washington lodged at Weston the night of October 23 and left it at 8 a. m., October 24. According to schedule he reached Cambridge at 10 a. m.; but the militia was not ready until 11 a. m. A conflict over local precedence delayed his entry into Boston. Lieut. Gov. Samuel Adams, who had been sent by the Governor to welcome the President at the town limits, encountered opposition from the town authorities, who claimed the right to welcome the President to the town. Adams was forced to give way. The details of this controversy are in Washington's "Diaries."

invitation of taking an informal dinner with you.[14] I have the honor &c.[15]

To GOVERNOR JOHN HANCOCK

Sunday 1 O'clock, Boston, October 26, 1789.

The President of the United States presents his best respects to the Governor, and has the honor to inform him that he shall be at home 'till 2 o'clock.

The President of the United States need not express the pleasure it will give him to see the Governor; but, at the same time, he most earnestly begs that the Governor will not hazard his health on the occasion.[16]

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[14] Hancock, not having paid the President the first visit, Washington canceled the dinner acceptance and dined at his lodgings which were at Mrs. Ingersoll's, widow of Joseph Ingersoll, corner of Tremont and Court Streets. Vice President John Adams dined with him. On Sunday, October 25, Governor Hancock called on the President, assuring him that indisposition alone had prevented his doing it before.

On Washington's tour of New England, which did not, however, include Rhode Island and Vermont, presumably because those two States were not then members of the Union, various States, towns, and organizations presented him with complimentary addresses to which answers were returned. These, in the order of their dates, were: From the Connecticut Legislature [October 17]; from the Congregational ministers of New Haven, October 17; from the mayor, aldermen, and common council of Hartford [October 20]; from the Governor and Council of Massachusetts, October 27; from the inhabitants of Boston [October 27]; from the president and fellows of Harvard University, October 27; from the Massachusetts Society of the Cincinnati, October 27; from the inhabitants of Marblehead, October 29; from the inhabitants of Salem, October 29; from the citizens of Newburyport [October 30]; from the inhabitants of Portsmouth, N. H., November 2; from the executive of New Hampshire, at Portsmouth, November 3; from the ministers and elders representing the Massachusetts and New Hampshire churches which compose the First Presbytery of the Eastward, Newburyport, October 28. All of the above addresses and answers are recorded consecutively in the "Letter Book," with the exception of this last one from the ministers and elders, etc., which, though dated October 28, is recorded after November 3. In Washington's reply to this, he wrote: "I am persuaded, you will permit me to observe that the path of true piety is so plain as to require but little political direction. To this consideration we ought to ascribe the absence of any regulation, respecting religion, from the Magna-Charta of our country. To the guidance of the ministers of the gospel this important object is, perhaps, more properly committed. It will be your care to instruct the ignorant, and to reclaim the devious, and, in the progress of morality and science, to which our government will give every furtherance, we may confidently expect the advancement of true religion, and the completion of our happiness."

[15] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers.*

[16] The draft is in the writing of Tobias Lear.

Hancock's note, to which this letter is the reply, is dated October 26 at half past twelve o'clock. "The Governors Best respects to The President; if at home and at

*PLAN OF AMERICAN FINANCE

[October ? 1789.]

Preliminary. Consider all requisitions heretofore made by Congress on the states, as if they had never been made. This gets rid of the adjustment of quotas for the past. The contributions in money, provisions &ca. made by each State to the Union, become a debt from the Union to the respective State, deduct from this all monies advanced to that State by the Union; the balance will constitute the debt of the Union to the State. Let that debt bear an interest of 6 pr Ct. With that interest each state may pay annually the interest of the debts they owe, and the annual expences of their Government. They will then have no occasion for Taxes and consequently may abandon all the subjects of taxation to the Union

I Let the Union lay an Impost of 5 pr Cent on Importations. Suppose it worth from 1½ to 2 millions of Dollars. Open a loan in Europe sufficient to pay the foreign debts, and to support the government a year or two. Suppose this to be 12 millions of dollars at 5 pr Cent interest. 600,000 Dollars a year.

Appropriate this Impost

1. to pay the interest of the New loan, suppose about 600,000 Dolrs a year
2. the surplus to form an agegrate fund.

II Lay a direct tax of 1/20 of all produce, payable in kind, but commutable for *half* its worth in money. Should this produce more than the State's quota, let the Surplus belong to the State.

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leisure, the Governor will do himself the honor to pay his respects, in half an hour. This would have been done much sooner, had his health in any degree permitted. He now hazards every thing as it respects his health, for the desirable purpose." This letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

Hancock claimed to have a severe attack of the gout and was carried by retainers into Washington's presence.

The State Legislature may then be entrusted with fixing the objects on which it is to fall, their value, the places of delivery, Sale of the produce, conduct of the receivers &ca:

Appropriate it

1. to the Military and Naval establishments
2. to pay the interest of the debts of the Union to the respective States.
3. the surplus to form an Aggregate fund

III. Postages and a Tax on Civil Process may form a third fund.

Appropriate it

1. to the Civil list.
2. the Surplus to the aggregate fund.

The aggregate fund thus formed of the residuary parts of all Taxes.

Appropriate it

1. to pay the interest of the Domestic Debt
2. to contingencies.
3. to be applied as a sinking fund to pay off the capitol of the general debts of the Union. fix such an order of payment as will retire the sinking the whole Capitol in time. but leave a portion of the sinking fund free, to be employed by the Executive at their discretion in buying up the general debts at their market price.[17]

To SAMUEL TAFT[18]

Hartford, November 8, 1789.

Sir: Being informed that you have given my name to one of your Sons, and called another after Mrs. Washington's family.

[17] In the *Washington Papers* at the end of 1789. It may or may not have been submitted to Hamilton.

[18] Of Uxbridge, Mass.

And being moreover very much pleased with the modest and innocent looks of your two daughters Patty and Polly I do, for these reasons, send each of these Girls a piece of chintz. And to Patty, who bears the name of Mrs. Washington, and who waited more upon us than Polly did,[19] I send five guineas, with which she may buy herself any little ornaments she may want, or she may dispose of them in any other manner more agreeable to herself.

As I do not give these things with a view to have it talked of, or even to its being known, the less there is said about the matter the better you will please me, but that I may be sure the chintz and money have got safe to hand, let Patty, who I dare say is equal to it, write me a line informing me thereof directed to "The President of the United States at New York."

I wish you and your family well and am etc.[20]

*To JAMES MERCER

New York, November 17, 1789.

Sir: During my absence on a tour through the Eastern States, your letter of the 15th. Ulto, enclosing an Order of the District Court which had been in Session at Fredericksburgh, came to this City. This is the reason why you have not recd. an earlier acknowledgment of them; for I did not return until the 13th. instt. too late for the Posts of last week.

A bad memory, and no memorandums or papers to refer to, added to the multiplicity of occurrences which have happened to lay claim to my closest attention since the year 1774, have

[19] On November 6 Washington stayed over night at Taft's house. Washington's hearing, or memory, was at fault as to Patty's name, which was not Martha, but Mercy. Her letter to Washington is dated December 28 and is in the *Washington Papers*.

[20] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

obliterated almost every thing relating to the conversations and conduct of Mr. Dawson [21] at the Sale of Colo. Mercers Estate in the month of Novr. of that year. All that remains upon my mind respecting his conduct (for my business you will recollect was not with him, but to sell the Estate) is, that the Plantations appeared to me to be in bad condition, and himself too simple, easy and incompetent for the management of them. I have some faint recollection also, that there were suspicions of, or charges against him for, his having disposed of Pine timber. And I think he was under promise to be down soon after the Sale to settle, and render an acct. of his Stewardship. But, the most certain things of all to me, is, that the whole has more the Semblance of a dream than reality; for which reason and because I wish to do no injustice to either part, I pray that no stress may be laid upon any thing I have here written, touching this business, further than it is corroborated by the testimony of others. With esteem and regard I am etc.

PS. Mr. Dawson has written to me on this subject, his letter dated the 5th. of Octr., and propounded questions which my memory does not enable me to answer. The certificate which he enclosed to me, I now return, with a request that it may be handed to him. [H.S.P.]

To WILLIAM DRAYTON

New York, November 18, 1789.

Sir: The office of Judge of the District Court in and for South Carolina District having become vacant; I have appointed you to fill the same, and your Commission therefor is enclosed. You will observe that the commission, which is now transmitted to you, is limited to the end of the next Session of the

[21] William Dawson.

Senate of the United States. This is rendered necessary by the Constitution of the United States, which authorizes the President of the United States to fill up such vacancies as may happen during the recess of the Senate and appointments so made shall expire at the end of the ensuing Session unless confirmed by the Senate; however there cannot be the smallest doubt but the Senate will readily ratify and confirm this appointment, when your Commission in the usual form shall be forwarded to you.

I presume, Sir, it is unnecessary for me to advance any arguments to shew the high importance of the Judicial System to our National Government, and of course the necessity of having respectable and influential Characters placed in the important offices of it. The love which you bear our Country will, I am persuaded lead you to do every thing in your power to promote its welfare; and upon this principle I flatter myself you will accept the above appointment. I am &c.[22]

To MATTHEW WHITING

New York, November 18, 1789.

Sir: Since my return from the Eastward I received your letter respecting your Son, Had I received it sooner, it should have been answered sooner.

Upon the receipt of it I immediately made application to the Office of Foreign Affairs, from whence alone any information upon such a subject could be derived. A Copy of the report from that Office you will receive with this. Whatever means of affording assistance in cases like this I may be possessed of, shall be most chearfully exerted, and if the desired end could be attained, I should receive great pleasure from it. The only channel

[22] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

through which at present, (as I have just above observed) any information can be procured, is the Office of Foreign Affairs, nor do I know or believe that any other will present itself, unless it be thro' Mr. Jefferson the American Minister at the Court of France, whom I daily expect here on his return from thence. But here give me leave to advise you not to cherish too fondly your hopes. I know full well that persons of that description from whom you have accounts of your Son's being in captivity at Algiers, make a practice of fabricating such tales, with a view of getting money from those, to whom, the persons of whom they give such accounts, are related. This has been done in other instances. I well know too that small circumstances will induce and encourage great hopes, where the object of our hopes is the object of our love and strongest Affection. I am etc.[23]

To THOMAS HARTLEY

New York, [November][1] 20, 1789.

Sir: The letter with which you was pleased to favor me dated October 6. came to this place while I was on my tour to the eastward; and the variety of occurences since my return, has prevented an acknowledgement of it till now.

I was in hopes, from the knowledge I had of what such Mares, as I described, are now and then bought for in Virginia, from what Colonel Lowry told me of the price of them in New Jersey, from the season of the year, when Farmers find it convenient to dispose of superfluous mouths, and from the number it was probable I might take (which made it an object) that the price offered by me, in my letter of the 29. of September last, would be sufficient to procure them.

[23] Dated October in the "Letter Book" in the *Washington Papers*.

I have neither seen, heard from, nor written to Colonel Lowry since my return to this city on the above subject, and believing that *better* mares for my purpose, and more convenient, can be had in Lancaster county than in Jersey, I am disposed to give Five hundred pounds, Pennsylvania currency, for Twenty mares, such as are therein described; delivered as there directed. This sum of £500 Pennsa. currency I mean to be in full for the purchase and all incidental expences attending the mares. In other respects my letter of the 29 of September, alluded to, is expressive of my desires, and must be referred to in case of a purchase.

As soon as convenient I should be glad to hear from you on this subject. I am etc.

P. S. For your private information *only,* I will add, that rather than not get the Mares I will allow besides the Five hundred Pounds for twenty, Twenty shillings for each for the expence of transportation, but it is *really* too much; and nothing but the expectation of having fine Mares would induce me to exceed the sum proposed in my former letter.[24]

To OTHO HOLLAND WILLIAMS

New York, November 22, 1789.

Dear Sir: Upon my return to this city, after making a tour through the eastern States, I received your favor of the 29 of October enclosing one from Mrs. Carroll, and two days ago I received another letter from you dated the 10th. of the same month.

I can no longer refuse the kind and pressing offer of bearing fruit Trees from the good Lady, and in the enclosed letter to her, I have informed her that when the season will permit, you

[24] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers.*

will do me the favor of embracing a good occasion of forwarding them to Mount Vernon.

From the promising abilities and good character I have heard of Mr. Robert Smith, I entertain a very favorable opinion of his merits; but, as in the Person of a Judge, the World will look for a character and reputation founded on service and experience, I cannot conceive that the appointment of so young and unexperienced a man as Mr. Smith would be considered as a judicious choice by the community in general, though it might meet the approbation of those who have had the best opportunity of becoming acquainted with his talents. In such important appointments as the Judiciary, much confidence is necessary, and this will not be given fully to an untried man. With esteem and regard, I am etc.[25]

To MRS. MARGARET CARROLL

New York, November 22, 1789.

Madam: Since my return from a tour thro' the eastern States I have been honored by the receipt of your polite, and very obliging favor of the 26 of last month.

I am overcome by your goodness, and shall submit to your decision with respect to the plants from your Green House I must however again declare I should feel infinitely more pain than pleasure from the receipt of them, if I thought, in encreasing my stock, you had, in the smallest degree, done injury to your own. After this declaration, which I make, my good Madam, with the utmost candor and truth, such plants as your goodness may have intended for me, General Williams will forward when the season shall arrive, which will admit, with

[25] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

safety, of their transportation, and this from some late accounts of the alteration my new Gardner has been making at Mount Vernon will be as soon as my Green House will be completely in order for them.

I feel myself much flattered by your kind congratulations on the recovery of my health and the continuance of Mrs. Washington's and with gratitude I receive your obliging invitation to Mount Clare. Mrs. Washington joins me in compliments to you, and with very great respect, I have the honor etc.[26]

*To GOVERNOR BEVERLEY RANDOLPH

New York, November 22, 1789.

Sir: From the original letter, which I forward herewith, Your Excellency will comprehend the nature of a prospect for introducing and establishing the Woolen Manufactory in the State of Virginia. In the present stage of population and agriculture, I do not pretend to determine, how far that Plan may be practicable and advisable; or, in case it should be deemed so, whether any or what public encouragement ought to be given to facilitate its execution. I have, however, no doubt as to the good policy of encreasing the number of Sheep in every State. By a little Legislative encouragement, the Farmers of Connecticut have, in two years past, added one hundred thousand to their former stock. In my late tour through the Eastern States, I found that the Manufacturers of Woollens (for the Manufacture of Woollens is carried on there to very considerable extent and advantage) preferred the Wool raised in Virginia for its fineness, to that raised in more Northern parts of the Continent. If a greater quantity of Wool could be produced,

[26] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

and if the hands (which are often in a manner idle) could be employed in the manufacturing it; a spirit of industry might be promoted, a great diminution might be made in the annual expences of individual families, and the Public would eventually be exceedingly benefitted.

Under these impressions I have thought proper to transmit the Proposal; and will only add, that, if it should be judged expedient to submit the subject to the Legislature, or if any private Company should engage in promoting the business, the necessity of keeping the Manufacturer's name concealed would undoubtedly occur: as a premature knowledge of it might not only frustrate the success of the Project, but also subject the Person principally concerned to the most distressing consequences. I have the honor etc. [H.S.P]

To JOHN MARSHALL

New York, November 23, 1789.

Sir: Upon my return to this place from a tour through the eastern States, I met your letter of the 14th Ulto, giving me information of your declining the appointment of Attorney for the district of Virginia, and assigning the reasons for so doing.

Your name was mentioned to me for that Office by Colo. Samuel Griffin as a request of your own, to which my feelings assented with peculiar pleasure, and I am sorry that circumstances are such as render your acceptance of the Appointment incompatible with your business.

As some other person must be appointed to fill the office of Attorney for the district of Virginia it is proper your Commission should be returned to me. I am etc.[27]

[27] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

To RICHARD CARY[28]

New York, November 23, 1789.

Sir: When I was in Boston I received your letter of the 27th of October enclosing a Pamphlet[29] relating to donations which were made by Colo. Alford[30] for civilizing and christianizing the Indians, and for other valuable purposes. My time was so occupied while on my tour to the eastward that it was not in my power to make an acknowledgment for this mark of polite attention 'till my return to this place, and I now beg you to accept it. I am etc.[31]

To THOMAS NEWTON, JUNIOR

New York, November 23, 1789.

Sir: Your letter of the 24th of October, containing an estimate of the cost of a Light-house which was to have been erected on Cape Henry; a draft of the same, and an Account of materials placed upon the spot for the purpose of building, has been duly received; and I beg you to accept my thanks for your trouble in preparing and forwarding them. I am etc.[31]

To EDWARD RUTLEDGE

New York, November 23, 1789.

Dear Sir: I have been favored with your letter of the 31st Ultimo, and am very happy to learn, that the appointments under the general Government have given so much satisfaction in your part of the Union. Added to the consciousness of

[28] Of Charleston, S. C.
[29] This pamphlet is in the *Washington Papers* under date of May 28, 1789.
[30] John Alford.
[31] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers.*

having brought forward such Characters only to fill the several Offices in the United States, as from my own knowledge, or the strictest enquiries I conceived would do justice to the public, and honor to themselves, I have the happiness to find, so far as my information extends, that they are highly acceptable to the good people of this Country.

Your Brother's[32] acceptance of his appointment has given me much pleasure; and I should have been glad, if Major Pinckney[33] could have found it compatible with his interest to hold the Office of District Judge; however, I am persuaded the duties of that Office will be ably and faithfully discharged by Mr. Drayton whom I have appointed to fill it, in consequence of your warm recommendation of him, and the concurrent testimony given of his abilities and integrity by those Gentlemen who are acquainted with him, and who have spoken to me on the subject. I am &c.[34]

To COLONEL SOLOMON BUSH[35]

New York, November 24, 1789.

Sir: Your letters of the 30th of July and 5th of August have been received.

I beg your acceptance of my thanks for the congratulations which you offer upon my election to the Office of President of the United States, and the good wishes which you express for my personal happiness.

In your letters you mention the seizure of a Ship from New York, and her being afterwards liberated by a proper and

[32] John Rutledge. He had been appointed one of the associate justices of the Supreme Court.
[33] Thomas Pinckney.
[34] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.
[35] Of London.

spirited conduct. As a Citizen of the United States of America I offer you my thanks for the assistance which you afforded towards saving the property of our Countrymen. I am etc.

P. S. Nov. 24th. Since writing the above, I have received your letter of the 4th of October by Mr. Trumbull, together with the book accompanying it, for which I request you to present my thanks to Mr. Bush, at whose desire it was forwarded, and accept the same for your trouble in transmitting it.[36]

To ROBERT HANSON HARRISON

New York, November 25, 1789.

Dear Sir: Since my return from my Tour through the eastern States, I have received your two letters, dated the 27th of last month; together with the Commission which had been sent to you as a Judge of the Supreme Court of the United States. I find that one of the reasons, which induced you to decline the appointment, rests on an idea that the Judicial Act will remain unaltered. But in respect to that circumstance, I may suggest to you, that such a change in the System is contemplated, and deemed expedient by many in, as well as out of Congress, as would permit you to pay as much attention to your private affairs as your present station does.

As the first Court will not sit until the first Monday in February, I have thought proper to return your Commission, not for the sake of urging you to accept it contrary to your interest or convenience, but with a view of giving you a farther opportunity of informing yourself of the nature and probability of the change alluded to. This you would be able to do with the less risk of mistake, if you should find it convenient to pass

[36] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

some time here, when a considerable number of Members of both Houses of Congress shall have Assembled; and this might be done before it would become indispensable to fill the place offered to you. If, on the other hand, your determination is absolutely fixed, you can, without much trouble, send back the Commission, under cover.

Knowing as you do the candid part, which I wish to Act on all occasions; you will, I am persuaded, do me the justice to attribute my conduct in this particular instance to the proper motives, when I assure you, that I would not have written this letter if I had imagined it would produce any new embarrassment on your part. On the contrary you may rest assured, that I shall be perfectly satisfied with whatever determination may be consonant to your best judgment, and most agreeable to yourself.[37] I am &c.

P. S. As you may wish to know the determination of the other Associate Judges of the Supreme Court, I have the pleasure to inform you that all of them have accepted their Appointments.[38]

To REVEREND JOHN RODGERS

New York, November 28, 1789.

Sir: By direction of the President of the United States, I have the pleasure to send you twenty five dollars to be applied towards relieving the poor of the Presbyterian Churches.

A paragraph in the papers mentioned that a Contribution would be made for that purpose on Thanksgiving day; as no opportunity offered of doing it at that time, and not knowing in whose hands the money should be lodged which might be

[37] Harrison again declined and James Iredell, of North Carolina, was appointed.
[38] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

given afterwards. The President of the United States has directed me to send it to you, requesting that you will be so good as to put it into the way of answering the charitable purposes for which it is intended. I am etc.[39]

*To THOMAS JEFFERSON

New York, November 30, 1789.

Dear Sir: You will perceive by the enclosed letter (which was left for you at the office of Foreign affairs when I made a journey to the Eastern States) the motives on which I acted with regard to yourself, and the occasion of my explaining them at that early period. Having now reason to hope, from Mr. Trumbulls report, that you will be arrived at Norfolk before this time (on which event I would most cordially congratulate you) and having a safe conveyance by Mr. Griffin, I forward your Commission to Virginia; with a request to be made acquainted with your sentiments as soon as you shall find it convenient to communicate them to me. With sentiments of very great esteem &c.[40]

To JOSEPH JONES

New York, November 30, 1789.

Dear Sir: Your favor, without date, came to my hands by the last post, but not till after I had decided in favor of Mr. Cyrus Griffin, and directed the commission to be made out. This being the case your application for the office of District Judge has not, nor will it be mentioned by me.

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[39] This letter, signed "Tobias Lear," is entered in the "Letter Book" in the *Washington Papers*.

[40] Frm the original in the *Jefferson Papers* in the Library of Congress. (See note to Washington's letter to Thomas Jefferson, Oct. 13, 1789, *ante*.)

In every nomination to office I have endeavored, as far as my own knowledge extended, or information could be obtained, to make fitness of character my primary object. If with this the peculiar necessities of the Candidates could be combined, it has been, with me, an additional inducement to the appointment. By these principles, in a proper degree, have I been influenced in the case of Mr. Griffin, who is not only *out* of office and in *want* of the emoluments of one, but has been deprived of the former by *my* means, owing to an opinion which prevailed here at the time, among our Countrymen, that his accepting of the temporary appointment of Commissioner to treat with the southern Indians would not bring him under the disqualifying act of Virginia by which, however, it seems he has lost his station in the council of that State, and is now entirely out of employment. This circumstance added to the knowledge of his having been a regular Student of law, having filled an important office in the union in the line of it, and being besides a man of competent abilities, and of pure character, weighed with me in the choice, to which I was not a little influenced by the opportunity of deciding positively whether he would accept or not, for I confess I was not a little unwilling to hazard *another* choice without some previous enquiry and consultation, and sufficient time was not allowed me between the receipt of Colonel Pendleton's resignation, which came to this place whilst I was on a tour through the eastern States, and the day appointed for the session of the District Court, to do this. With very sincere esteem and regard, etc.[41]

[41] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

On November 30 Washington appointed William Nelson, United States attorney for the Virginia District, inclosing his commission to him in a brief note, explaining the necessity of a later confirmation by the Senate. This note is recorded in the "Letter Book" in the *Washington Papers*.

To JAMES McHENRY

(Confidential)

New York, November 30, 1789.

Dear Sir: I have received your letter of the 14th inst, and in consequence of the suggestions contained therein, added to other considerations which occurred to me, I have thought it best to return Judge Harrison[42] his Commission, and I sincerely hope that upon a further consideration of the subject he may be induced to revoke his former determination and accept the appointment.

Mr. Johnson[43] has likewise declined his appointment of District Judge, and I have no information of Mr. Potts,[44] the Attorney, or Mr. Ramsey[45] the Marshall, having accepted their Commissions. Thus circumstanced with respect to Maryland, I am unwilling to make a new appointment of Judge for that District until I can have an assurance, or at least a strong presumption, that the person appointed will accept; for it is to me an unpleasant thing to have Commissions of so important a nature returned; and it will, in fact, have a tendency to bring the Government into discredit.

Mr. Hanson[46] is the person whom I now have it in contemplation to bring forward as District Judge of Maryland, and shall do so, provided I can obtain an assurance that such an appointment would be acceptable to him: But as I cannot take any direct measures to draw from him a sentiment on this head, I must request, my dear Sir, that you will be so good as to get for me, if you can, such information upon the subject as will

[42] Robert Hanson Harrison.
[43] Thomas Johnson.
[44] Richard Potts.
[45] Nathaniel Ramsey (Ramsay).
[46] Alexander Contee Hanson.

enable me to act with confidence in it, and convey the same to me as soon as possible. I shall leave to your prudence and discretion the mode of gaining this knowledge. It is a delicate matter and will not bear any thing like a direct application if there is the least doubt of a refusal. I have observed in the papers that Mr. Hanson has been appointed Chancellor of the State since the death of Mr. Rogers.[47] What the emoluments of this office are, or its tenure, I know not, therefore can form no opinion how *far* it may operate in this matter.

Mr. Johnston's resignation came to hand too late to admit of a new appointment, and information to be given of it, before the time fixed by the act for holding the first district Court in Maryland; however, if this had not been the case, I should hardly have hazarded a new appointment, for the reasons before mentioned, until I had good grounds to believe it would be accepted.

Should it be found that the office of District Judge would not be acceptable to Mr. Hanson: Mr. Paca[48] has been mentioned for that appointment, and altho' his sentiments have not been altogether in favor of the General Government, and a little adverse on the score of Paper emissions etc. I do not know but his appointment on some other accounts might be a proper thing. However, this will come more fully under consideration if Mr. Hanson should not wish to be brought forward; and, in that case, I will thank you to give me information relative to Mr. Paca. Mr. Gustavus Scott and Mr. Robert Smith of Baltimore have also been mentioned for the Office; but the age and inexperience of the latter is in my opinion an insuperable objection. For however good the qualifications or promising the talents of Mr. Smith may be, it will be expected that the important offices of the General Government, and more

[47] John Rogers.
[48] William Paca.

especially those of the Judges should be filled by men who have been tried and proved. I thank you, my dear Sir, for your kind wishes for my health and happiness, and reciprocate them with sincerity. With very great regard &c.[49]

To EDMUND RANDOLPH

New York, November 30, 1789.

Dear Sir: Your letter of the 8th of October gave me pleasure, as I not only entertain hopes, but shall fully expect from the contents of it, to see you in the office of Attorney General when the purposes mentioned by you for the delay are answered.

I shall now mention some matters to you in confidence. Mr. Pendleton declining to accept the appointment of District Judge has embarrassed me, and this embarrassment was not a little encreased by the lateness of the period at which (being on a tour through the Eastern States) I came to the knowledge of it. When I was about to make the nominations in the Judiciary for the Union, the character and abilities of Mr. Wythe[50] did not escape me, and I accordingly consulted such Gentlemen from the State of Virginia (then in this City) as I thought most likely to have some knowledge of his Inclinations. Their opinion was, that as he had lately been appointed sole Chancellor (an Office to which by inclination he was led) and engaged in other avocations which engrossed his attentions and appeared to afford him pleasure he would not exchange the former for a federal appointment. However, since these appointments have been announced, I have heard that it has been the wonder of some, in Virginia, that Mr. Wythe should have been *overlooked*. The cause (if the epithet applies) I have assigned. And if there

[49] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.
[50] George Wythe.

was reason to apprehend a refusal in the first instance, the non-acceptance of Colo. Pendleton would be no inducement to him to come forward in the second. To consult him, through the medium of a friend, there was not time, as the 3d Tuesday in December is the day appointed for holding the District Court in the District of Virginia, and to hazard a second refusal I was, on many accounts, unwilling to do. Under these circumstances I have, by the powers of the Constitution, appointed Mr. Cyrus Griffin during the recess of the Senate.

My reasons for this appointment in preference to any other except Mr. Wythe are, because he has (as I am informed) been regularly bred to the Law; has been in the Court of appeals; Has been discontinued of the Council in Virginia (contrary to the expectation of his friends here at the time, who thought that his temporary appointment as a negotiator with the southern Indians would not bring him under the disqualifying law of Virginia) and thereby thrown entirely out of employment, and because I had it in my power to ascertain with precision his acceptance. I shall say nothing of his being a Man of amiable character and of competent abilities, because in these respects some of the present Judges in that State may be his equals; but to what I have said, may be added, he has no employment now, and *needs* the emolument of one as much as any of them.

I will not conceal from you, that two motives have induced me to give this explanation. The first, if a favorable opportunity should present itself is, that Mr. Wythe may, in a delicate manner, be informed of the principles by which I was governed in this business; the second, that my inducements to appoint Mr. Griffin may not (if the propriety of it should be questioned) be altogether unknown. For having in every appointment endeavored, as far as my own knowledge of Characters extended, or information could be obtained, to select the fittest and most

acceptable Persons; and having reason to believe that the appointments which have been made heretofore have given very general satisfaction it would give me pain if Mr. Wythe or any of his friends should conceive that he has been passed by from improper motives. I have prejudices against none, nor partialities which shall bias me in favor of any one. If I err then, my errors will be of the head and not of the heart of my dear Sir, your most obedient &c.[51]

To THE EMPEROR OF MOROCCO

City of New York, December 1, 1789.

Great and Magnanimous Friend: Since the Date of the Letter which the late Congress, by their President, addressed to your Imperial Majesty, the United States of America have thought proper to change their Government, and to institute a new one, agreeable to the Constitution, of which I have the Honor of, herewith, enclosing a Copy. The Time necessarily employed in the arduous Task, and the Derangements occasioned by so great, though peaceable a Revolution, will apologize, and account for your Majesty's not having received those regular Advices, and Marks of Attention, from the United States, which the Friendship and Magnanimity of your Conduct, towards them, afforded Reason to expect.

The United States, having unanimously appointed me to the supreme executive Authority, in this Nation, your Majesty's Letter of the 17th: August 1788, which by Reason of the Disso-

[51] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

On December 23 Randolph wrote to Washington: "I found a fortunate moment for a conversation with Mr. Wythe. He repeated what I wrote to you in answer to your favor of the 30th. Ulto. Indeed he declared himself happy in believing, that he held a place in your esteem; and that he was confident, you had looked towards him with every partiality, which he could wish. Nay without going into the detail of our discourse, I am convinced from his own mouth, that the knowledge of his present situation is considered by him, as the only reason of a seat on the bench, not being tendered to him." Randolph's letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

lution of the late Government, remained unanswered, has been delivered to me. I have also received the Letters which your Imperial Majesty has been so kind as to write, in favor of the United States, to the Bashaws of Tunis and Tripoli, and I present to you the sincere Acknowledgments and Thanks of the United States, for this important Mark of your Friendship for them.

We greatly regret that the hostile Disposition of those Regencies, towards this Nation, who have never injured them, is not to be removed, on Terms in our Power to comply with. Within our Territories there are no Mines, either of Gold, or Silver, and this young Nation, just recovering from the Waste and Desolation of a long War, have not, as yet, had Time to acquire Riches by Agriculture and Commerce. But our Soil is boundtiful, and our People industrious; and we have Reason to flatter ourselves, that we shall gradually become useful to our Friends.

The Encouragement which your Majesty has been pleased, generously, to give to our Commerce with your Dominions; the Punctuality with which you have caused the Treaty with us to be observed; and the just and generous Measures taken in the Case of Captain Proctor,[52] make a deep Impression on the United States, and confirm their Respect for, and Attachment to your Imperial Majesty.

It gives me Pleasure to have this Opportunity of assuring your Majesty that, while I remain at the Head of this Nation, I shall not cease to promote every Measure that may conduce to the Friendship and Harmony, which so happily subsist between your Empire and them, and shall esteem myself happy in every

[52]Apparently some inadvertence, as Thomas Jefferson, writing from Paris (Sept. 9, 1789) to Giuseppe Chiappe, speaks of the release of the schooner *Proctor* by the Emperor. A press copy of this letter is in the *Jefferson Papers* in the Library of Congress.

Occasion of convincing your Majesty of the high Sense (which in common with the whole Nation) I entertain of the Magnanimity, Wisdom, and Benevolence of your Majesty. In the Course of the approaching Winter, the national Legislature (which is called by the former Name of Congress) will assemble, and I shall take Care that Nothing be omitted that may be necessary to cause the Correspondence, between our Countries, to be maintained and conducted in a Manner agreeable to your Majesty, and satisfactory to all the Parties concerned in it.

May the Almighty bless your Imperial Majesty, our great and magnanimous Friend, with his constant Guidance and Protection.[53]

To ROBERT MORRIS

New York, December 14, 1789.

Dear Sir: I have been favored with the receipt of your letter of the 9th instant.[54] In reply to the object of its enclosure, I can

[53] From a photostat of the original kindly furnished by George A. Ball, of Muncie, Ind.

On December 1 the New Jersey Legislature sent an address to Washington, whose reply, undated, is recorded in the "Letter Book" immediately following the copy of the address. In the reply Washington wrote: "The opportunities, which were afforded me in the trying vicissitudes of our arduous struggle, to remark the generous spirit, which animated the exertions of your citizens, have impressed a remembrance of their worth, which no length of time or change of circumstances can efface. . . . In making my acknowledgments for the favorable opinions you express of my military conduct, as it respected the observance of civil rights, it is but justice to assign great merit to the temper of those citizens, whose estates were more immediately the scene of warfare. Their personal services were rendered without constraint, and the derangement of their affairs submitted to without dissatisfaction. It was the triumph of patriotism over personal considerations. And our present enjoyments of peace and freedom reward the sacrifice."

On December 4 Lear wrote to William Duer, that Washington would "keep the Carriage provided for his use previous to his arrival in New York . . . as it will be considered upon the same footing with other Articles furnished at that time and for that purpose." Lear's letter is recorded in the "Letter Book" in the *Washington Papers*.

On December 8, or thereabouts, Washington wrote out a memorandum of extracts from the report of the Commissioners appointed to treat with the southern Indians, and extracts of the letters from sundry persons in Kentucky and other parts of the western country, for the purpose of clarifying the Indian situation in his mind. This document, covering 18 folio pages, is in the *Washington Papers*.

[54] Not now found in the *Washington Papers*.

only observe that Mr. Hamilton is a Gentleman of whom I am inclined to think well, and to believe qualified for the office he solicits: But the rule which I have prescribed to myself, being intended to preserve a freedom of choice in all nominations, forbids any engagement whatever until the nomination is made.

I beg you to accept my best thanks for the obliging offer which you made, through Major Jackson, of accomodating me with a steward, and I regret that circumstances do not permit me to prove to you my belief of its sincerity: But the multiplied duties of the station would, I apprehend, be too fatigueing for a Person as far advanced as Constance, and Anthony's youth would disqualify him from obtaining the necessary authority over the other servants, all of whom are so much his seniors. I am very sensible of your goodness in agreeing to promote my convenience at the expence of your own, and I am not less grateful than if the intention had been fulfill'd. Be pleased to present Mrs. Washington's, and my compliments to Mrs. Morris, and believe me with great regard, Dr. Sir etc.[55]

To GOVERNOR BEVERLEY RANDOLPH

New York, December 14, 1789.

Sir: I was surprized to find by your Excellency's letter of the 1st instant, with which I have been duly favored, that my dispatches of the 3d of October did not reach you until the last day of November; and in consequence thereof I have enquired of the Post Master in this City to know if they were detained in his office. He informs me they were not, and as a proof of it, he refers to the stamp on the face of the letters which will shew the day of their leaving his office, and I will thank you for your own, and my satisfaction to examine the same.

[55] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

The detention of these letters is a matter of some importance not only as it respects them, but as to the general regulation of the post Office; and I wish exceedingly to know where they were detained, and whether it was owing to the inattention of any Post Master through whose hands they must have passed, or to a worse cause. An investigation and discovery of this matter may prevent future offences of the like nature. You will therefore oblige me, Sir, and render a service to the public, by using your endeavors to know the cause of their detention. I have the honor etc.[56]

*To BUSHROD WASHINGTON

New York, December 16, 1789.

Dear Bushrod: The enclosed is in answer to a letter I have just received from your Brother. It goes unsealed that you may aid it with your own opinion and advice or by searching among my Papers as directed for any thing that may be serviceable. Mrs. Washington joins me in love to yourself and Nancy, and I am etc. [N.Y.H.S.]

To THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY

United States, December 17, 1789.

Sir: As I am uncertain of the condition and even the Office in which the papers containing accounts of our disbursements for subsistence of British prisoners remain, and as it is not improbable that some negotiations may (whenever our Union under the General Government shall be completed) take place between the United States and Great Britain, in which an accurate undertsanding of those Accots. will become necessary, I have

[56] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

therefore thot. proper to suggest the expediency of having some immediate attention paid to them.

Notwithstanding, on as fair a statement of Expenditures as could now be made, much property must undoubtedly be lost by the United States for want of Vouchers and by reason of the negligence with which the business was conducted on our part; yet I was always impressed with an idea, that, under all these disadvantageous Circumstances, a very considerable balance would still be found in our favor. My present wish is, to have the subject so far investigated, as that we might not commit ourselves, by bringing forward Accounts, which had better continue dormant. Shou'd there be no danger of that kind, it would then be desirable to have the business placed in a state, which might enable us to speak from a general knowledge of facts, and in a proper tone; in case a demand of the American posts held by the King of Great Britain should draw pecuniary subjects into discussion. I believe Lists of property carried away by the British, at the time when they evacuated the posts they had occupied during the late war, are lodged in the Office of Foreign Affairs. I am etc.[57]

To THE CHIEFS AND WARRIORS OF THE CHOCTAW NATION

City of New York, December 17, 1789.

Brothers: I have sent Major Doughty[58] one of our Warriors, in order to convince you that the United States well remember the treaty they made with your Nation four years ago at Hopewell on the Keowee; guard and protect him and show him the places at which trading posts shall be established in order to

[57] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.
[58] Maj. John Doughty.

furnish you with goods; and when the said posts shall be established, support them to the utmost of your power.

Be attentive to what he shall say in the name of the United States for he will speak only truth.

Regard the United States as your firm and best support. Keep bright the claim of friendship between the Chickasaws and your nation, reject the advice of bad men who may attempt to poison your minds with suspicions against the United States.[59]

To CLEMENT BIDDLE

New York, December 21, 1789.

Dear Sir: I have to acknowledge your three favors of the 22d. and 30th. of November, and 10th. of Decr. All of which have been duly laid before the President, who now directs me to request that you will be so good as to inform me in your next, at what price per bushel 350 bushels of Buckwheat could be delivered at Alexandria if sent in bags, including the cost of the buckwheat, the bags, commission on purchasing, freight and every incidental charge, and what would be the cost per bushel if sent in *barrells* including every expence as above. He wishes this particular calculation to determine whether he shall procure in from Philadelphia or from the back Counties in Virginia, and requests the information to be given if it can be obtained, in the course of this week, that he may; in his letter of next week to Major Washington direct him to procure it from the back country or wait its arrival from Philadelphia. From your last letter it is not probable the Buckwheat could be got in time to send (if it should be ordered) before the Rivers close,

[59] In the writing of a War Department clerk, countersigned by Knox. From a photostat of the original in the *Spanish Archives, Papeles de Cuba,* Leg. 202.

therefore the calculation, I suppose must be made with an idea of its being forwarded as early in the Spring as possible. Mrs. Washington will be much obliged to you to get from Mr. Reinagle[60] who taught Miss Custis Music last summer, such music as he may think proper for her to progress with through the winter, and pay for him for the same, which you will be good enough to forward to New York.

Present my Respects to Mrs. Biddle and tell her I shall give her compliments, to Mrs. Lear, on the day of my marriage whenever that may be. And I shall also, my Dear Sir, apply your kind congratulations in their proper train. I am etc.[61]

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[60] Alexander Reinagle.

[61] This letter, signed "Tobias Lear," is entered in the "Letter Book" in the *Washington Papers*.

On December 22 the General Assembly of Georgia delivered an address to Washington, to which he replied at some unknown date. This reply is entered in the "Letter Book" immediately following the copy of the address. In it Washington wrote:

"I am naturally led to reflect on the unlimited gratitude which we owe, as a nation, to the supreme Arbiter of human events for his interposition in our favor; as well as on the singular obligations which are due from me as an individual, for the indulgent sentiments, which my fellow-citizens have always had the goodness to entertain of my conduct. . . . I am not ignorant how much the local situation of your State exposed its inhabitants to suffer the distresses of the late war in a severe manner; nor how manfully they exerted themselves in the common cause during the struggle which established our independence. Wasted as your country was at the return of peace, and exposed as your frontiers have since been to the ravages of the Indians, I cannot but flatter myself that you will ere long realize the blessings, which were to be expected from your natural resources, and find a compensation for your sufferings in the benefits of an efficient general government.

"It will not be expected I presume, on this occasion, that I should enter into the merits of the delicate subject to which you allude. It may be sufficient to say, that, while I regret extremely the failure of the late negociation for peace with the Creek-Indians: I am satisfied that the explanations which have been received through authentic channels will be of eminent service. I am also convinced that nothing will be wanting on your part to concur in the accomplishment of a pacification: and I still hope that under the influence of the general Government that desirable object may be effected. With respect to this subject in general, as well as to the other calamity which you mention as resulting from your being the south frontier of the Union, I request you will be persuaded, that I shall make such use of the powers vested in me by the constitution as may appear to me best calculated to promote the public good." The Georgia Legislature's address had spoken of the injury to private persons from their slaves escaping into Spanish territory: "This has already been productive of much injury to private persons and if not speedily restrained may grow into an evil of national magnitude."

To GOVERNOR SAMUEL HUNTINGTON

New York, December 23, 1789.

Sir: I have been favored with your Excellency's letter of the 19th Ultimo,[62] recommending General Sage[63] to supply the place of Mr. Miller as Surveyor of the Port of Middletown in the State of Connecticut, provided the latter should resign his Office. I have also received a letter from Genl. Sage applying for the appointment, if the office should become vacant. But having had no intimation from Mr. Miller of his intention to resign, I cannot at present, with propriety, take any further notice of the application in behalf of Genl. Sage than to acknowledge the receipt of it. I am etc.[64]

To CLEMENT GOSSELIN

New York, December 23, 1789.

Sir: I have received (tho' a long time after its date) your letter of the 7th of September, in which you request my interference or assistance to obtain for you a title to Land ceded by the State of New York to the Canadian Refugees. Notwithstanding it is my sincere wish, that all those who suffered losses, or rendered services to the American cause, in the late War, should be suitably recompensed and rewarded, yet my present situation forbids any interference, on my part, with the doings of an individual State, unless called thereto by my official duty; I have therefore directed a copy of your letter to be given to Governor Clinton who is undoubtedly acquainted with the circumstances of the case which you have stated. I am &c.[64]

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[62] Huntington's letter is in the *Application for Office under Washington* in the Library of Congress.

[63] Comfort Sage.

[64] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

To PRESIDENT JOSEPH WILLARD[65]

New York, December 23, 1789.

Sir: Your letter of the 7th Ultimo was handed to me a few days since by Mr. Savage,[66] who is now engaged in taking the Portrait which you, and the Governors of the Seminary over which you preside, have expressed a desire for, that it may be placed in the Philosophy Chamber of your University. I am induced, Sir, to comply with this request from a wish that I have to gratify, so far as with propriety may be done, every reasonable desire of the Patrons and promoters of Science. And at the same time, I feel myself flattered by the polite manner in which I am requested to give this proof of my sincere regard and good wishes for the prosperity of the University of Cambridge. I am etc.[67]

To REVEREND JOSEPH BUCKMINSTER[68]

New York, December 23, 1789.

Sir: Your letter of the 27th of November and the discourse which it enclosed have been duly received.[69]

I consider the sermon[70] on the death of Sir William Pepperell which you were so good as to send me by desire of Lady Pepperell his Relict, as a mark of attention from her which required my particular acknowledgments; and I am sorry that the death of that Lady which I see is announced in the public papers

[65] President of Harvard College.
[66] Edward Savage.
[67] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.
[68] Of New Hampshire.
[69] Buckminster's letter is in the *Washington Papers*, but a copy of the sermon is not found therein.
[70] The sermon was printed in Boston in 1759, the year of Pepperrell's death, under the title, "A Sermon occasioned by the death of the Honourable Sir William Pepperell etc."

prevents my thanks being returned to her for her respect and good wishes. You, Sir, will please to accept them for your goodness in forwarding the discourse, and my request, that they may be added to the Revd. Author[71] with my approbation of the Doctrine therein inculcated. I am etc.[72]

To WILLIAM FITZHUGH

New York, December 24, 1789.

Dear Sir: I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 14th instant which announced to us the disagreeable intelligence of Mrs. Platers[73] death. Mrs. Washington and myself sincerely condole with you, your Lady and the other friends of Mrs. Plater, upon this melancholy event.

Mr. Johnson has, as you supposed, declined the appointment of Judge to the District of Maryland, and I have lately appointed Mr. Paca to fill that office. Mr. Thomas[74] whom you recommend for that place undoubtedly possesses all those qualifications which you have ascribed to him, and so far as my own knowledge of that Gentleman extends, he is justly entitled to the reputation which he sustains. But in appointing persons to office, and more especially in the Judicial Department, my views have been much guided to those characters who have been conspicuous in their Country; not only from an impression of their services, but upon a consideration that they had been tried, and that a readier confidence would be placed in them by the public than in others perhaps of equal merit, who had never been proved. Upon this principle Mr. Paca certainly stands prior to Mr. Thomas, altho' the latter may possess in as

[71] Rev. Benjamin Stevens, of Kittery (now Maine).
[72] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers.*
[73] Mrs. George Plater (Elizabeth Rousby), of Calvert County, Md.
[74] John Allen Thomas. Fitzhugh's letter of November 14, recommending him, is in *The Applications for Office under Washington* in the Library of Congress.

high a degree every qualification requisite in a Judge. With very sincere regard etc.[75]

To JABEZ BOWEN

New York, December 27, 1789.

Sir: The letters with which you have been pleased to favor me, dated in Octr. and the 15th. of the present month came duly to hand, and are entitled to my thanks for the communications contained in them. As it is possible the conduct of Rhode Island (if persevered in) may involve questions in Congress which will call for my Official decisions, it is not fit that I should express more than a wish, in reply to your letter, than that the Legislature at the coming Session would consider *well* before it again rejects the proposition for calling a Convention to decide on their accession to or rejection of the present Government. The adoption of it by No Carolina has left them *entirely* alone. I am much obliged to you for your good wishes, and with esteem and regard I am etc. [N.Y.P.L.]

To BARON DE POELLNITZ

New York, December 29, 1789.

Sir: I have received your letter of the 26th,[76] and given such attention to the Manuscript which accompanied it, as my obligations to public duties would permit. I shall always be happy to see experiments in Agricultural machines, which can be

[75] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

On December 24 Lear, by Washington's direction, sent $10 to Rev. John Henry Livingston, of the Dutch Reformed Church, in New York City, for the charity school attached thereto. Lear's letter is recorded in the "Letter Book" in the *Washington Papers*.

On this same day (December 24) the President forwarded to William Paca the commission of judge of the district court for Maryland in a letter which is practically the same as that to William Drayton, Nov. 18, 1789, *q. v.*

[76] The Baron's letter is dated at New York, and is in the *Washington Papers*.

brought into general use. Of those in your possession I was not able to form a decided judgment, except in the instance of the Horse Hoe. Of the utility of that instrument I was fully convinced. I propose to take some farther occasion of seeing the manner in which the threshing machine operates, when you shall let me know it is in readiness for the purpose, and in the mean time, I am, with due consideration, &c.[77]

*QUERIES[78]

[1789.]

1st. If there should be a Majority, or a large minority, in the Senate for continuing the negotiations (maugre the difficulty with respect to the navigation of the Mississippi) from an opinion that the terms, *upon the whole,* ought to be acceded to; will the President stand justified under the notification of Mr.

[77] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers.*

At some unknown date (presumably in 1789) Secretary Knox drafted a proposed message to the Senate for the President on the subject of a treaty with the Wabash Indians. It is in the *Washington Papers* under date of December(?), 1789, and in the writing of a clerk in the War Department. It is indorsed by Knox "Notes submitted to the President (—useless)—," and is published in full in the *Territorial Papers of the United States* (Carter, editor), vol. 2, p. 227.

Also, there is, in the *Washington Papers,* at the end of the year 1780, a 4-page, folio tabular statement of crops, showing the work done at the Mount Vernon farms—plowing, seeding, planting, etc., together with a calculation of the costs of the plantings. It is labeled "First statement of the Crops in 1789."

In the Huntington Library is an undated and unaddressed note (probably sent to James Madison some time during the latter part of the year 1789): "As the Communications herewith enclosed will not take much time to read; As there are matters related which *to me* are new; and as the information respecting land transactions, and other things in the Western Country will require to be noticed and acted upon in some way or another, I send them to you together with a Gazette with a marked paragraph containing some suggestions that have not, I believe, been touched upon in any of the Papers I gave you yesterday, but are handed to you for the same purpose that they were, i. e. merely for Consideration."

On January 2 Washington replied to an address from the Society of the Cincinnati of South Carolina, in which he wrote: "Nor is it conceivable that any Member of the Community should be more worthy of the enjoyments of liberty, or more zealous to perpetuate its duration, than those who have so nobly and so successfully defended its standard in the new world." This reply is recorded in the "Letter Book" in the *Washington Papers.*

[78] In the *Washington Papers,* at the end of 1789. These queries were probably submitted either to Madison or to Jefferson.

Gardoqui's leave of absence, and intended departure by the first opportunity, for letting him do this without submitting the matter in some form or another to the Senate? notwithstanding it is the opinion of the President that the claim of the U. S to this Navigation ought not to be weakened by any negotiation whatsoever.

2d. Is there not something in the expression of the answer of Mr. Jay to Mr. Gardoqui that may be construed into a relaxation on this point, when the present derangements are done away, and we shall be in a condition to renew the Negotiations under the new Governt.

3d. Would it be improper, besides withholding or qualifying the expression above alluded to, to convey verbally (a memorandum of which to be taken) but delicately to Mr. Gardoqui that from the very nature of things, and our peculiar situation we never can loose sight of the use of that Navigation however it might be restrained, and that by a just and liberal policy both Countries might derive reciprocal advantages?

He had better, in my opinion, return with our ideas to this effect, delicately and tenderly expressed, than with any hope or expectation of our yielding the navigation of a River which is so tenaciously contended for by a large part of the Union, and the relinquishment of which, or the fear of which, founded on appearances, would occasion, certainly, the seperation of the Western territory.

*To THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY

Monday Morng., January 4, [1790].[79]

Dear Sir: I feel myself very much obliged by what you sent me yesterday. The letter from Governor Johnston[80] I return,

[79] Washington inadvertently dated it 1789.
[80] Samuel Johnston.

much pleased to find so authentic an Acct. of the adoption by No. Carolina of the Constitution.[81] Yrs. etc.[82]

To THE SENATE AND THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

United States, January 4, 1790.

Sir: Whenever there shall be a sufficient number of the two Houses of Congress assembled to proceed to business, I request to be informed of it. And also at what time and place it will be convenient for Congress, that I should meet them, in order to make some oral communications at the commencement of their Session. I have the honor etc.[83]

To MRS. SARAH BOMFORD

New York, January 6, 1790.

Madam: In answer to your letter of the 23 of August last, which came to my hands but a few days ago, I must observe that, from the year 1775. to the close of the war with great Britain, my public duties totally precluded me from attending

[81] North Carolina ratified the Constitution, Nov. 21, 1789. Copies of Gov. Samuel Johnston's letter to the President and the ratification of North Carolina were laid before the Senate in a very brief message (January 12), copy of which is in the "Letter Book."

Lear had, previously, though on the same day (January 12), by direction of the President, transmitted to Roger Alden "the Form of the adoption and ratification of the Constitution of the United States by the State of North Carolina." This was "to be lodged in the office of State with other public papers under your care, and to be delivered to the Secretary of State whenever he may enter upon the duties of his office." Lear's letter is recorded in the "Letter Book."

[82] From the *Hamilton Papers* in the Library of Congress.

[83] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

On January 4 William Jackson sent to John Jay, by direction of the President, a letter and inclosure from Judge [Jonathan Mitchell] Sewall to the Vice President "as the objects to which they refer are immediately within the department of the supreme Judiciary, and will, in the first instance, come most properly before you. The President likewise directs me to inform you that Judge Sewall has hinted at the subject of the inclosed papers in a letter to him, of which, if it is thought necessary, a transcript

to any kind of private business whatever, and from the latter period to the time of my entering again into public life, I was occasionally so much engaged in correspondencies, and other matters consequent on the station which I had held, that, with the greatest industry I could not find time to pay that attention to my *own* private affairs which they required.

Under these circumstances I had it not in my power to attend particularly to the affairs of Mrs. Savage, and, of course, have not that knowledge of the situation of them that Mr. Fairfax has, to whom I have transmitted your letter with a request, and not doubting, that he will give it the attention which it deserves, and which the situation of Mrs. Savage's affairs will admit of. And I must request that in future you will correspond with him upon this business. I am etc.[84]

To REVEREND BRYAN FAIRFAX

New York, January 6, 1790.

Dear Sir: I received the enclosed letter a few days since from Mrs. Bomford, upon the subject of a legacy which was left her by the late Mrs. Savage, and likewise requesting payment may be made to her for the diet, lodging &ca. of that unfortunate woman for upwards of four years.

In my answer to the above letter I have informed Mrs. Bomford that circumstances have put it out of my power to pay particular attention to the affairs of Mrs. Savage, and that I should transmit her letter to you, not doubting but you would

may be had." Jackson's letter is in the "Letter Book." Sewall's letter is not now found in the *Washington Papers*.

On January 5, by direction of the President, Lear sent to Hamilton the act of the Virginia Legislature, of Nov. 13, 1789, "to convey certain Land to the United States . . . for the purpose of building a lighthouse on Cape Henry." This letter is recorded in the "Letter Book" in the *Washington Papers*.

[84] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

give it that attention which it deserved. You will, therefore, my dear Sir, be good enough to give Mrs. Bomford such an answer to her letter, as from your knowledge of the situation of Mrs. Savage's affairs you may be enabled to do, and permit me to add, if this business could be brought to a close it would be a most desirable thing. You will please to make my best compliments acceptable to Mrs. Fairfax and your family, in which I am joined by Mrs. Washington, and I assure you we are not a little pleased to hear that you are about to establish yourselves in the neighbourhood of Mount Vernon, promising ourselves a new source of pleasure from that circumstance whenever we are permitted to return home. With very sincere regard, I am etc.[85]

To MARY KATHERINE GODDARD[86]

New York, January 6, 1790.

Madam: In reply to your Memorial of the 23d. of December, which has been received, I can only observe, that I have uniformly avoided interfering with any appointments which do not require my official agency, and the Resolutions and Ordinances establishing the Post Office under the former Congress, and which have been recognized by the present Government, giving power to the Postmaster General to appoint his own Deputies, and making him accountable for their conduct, is an insuperable objection to my taking any part in this matter.

I have directed your Memorial to be laid before the Postmaster General, who will take such measures thereon as his Judgment may direct. I am etc.[85]

[85] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.
[86] Of Baltimore, Md.

FIRST ANNUAL ADDRESS TO CONGRESS[87]

January 8, 1790.

Fellow Citizens of the Senate and House of Representatives: I embrace with great satisfaction the opportunity which now presents itself, of congratulating you on the present favourable prospects of our public affairs. The recent accession of the important State of North Carolina to the Constitution of the United States (of which official information has been received); the rising credit and respectability of our Country; the general and increasing good will towards the Government of the Union, and the concord, peace, and plenty, with which we are blessed are circumstances auspicious in an eminent degree, to our national prosperity.

In resuming your consultations for the general good, you cannot but derive encouragement from the reflection that the measures of the last Session have been as satisfactory to your Constituents, as the novelty and difficulty of the work allowed you to hope. Still further to realize their expectations and to secure the blessings which a Gracious Providence has placed within our reach, will in the course of the present important Session, call for the cool and deliberate exertion of your patriotism, firmness and wisdom.

Among the many interesting objects, which will engage your attention, that of providing for the common defence will merit particular regard. To be prepared for War is one of the most effectual means of perserving peace.

A free people ought not only to be armed but disciplined; to which end a uniform and well digested plan is requisite: And

[87] Delivered in the Senate Chamber.

their safety and interest require, that they should promote such manufactories, as tend to render them independent on others for essential, particularly for military supplies.

The proper establishment of the Troops, which may be deemed indispensable, will be entitled to mature deliberation.[88] In the arrangements, which may be made respecting it, it will be of importance to conciliate the comfortable support of the Officers and Soldiers with a due regard to œconomy.

There was reason to hope that the pacific measures adopted with regard to certain hostile tribes of Indians would have relieved the Inhabitants of our Southern and Western frontiers from their depredations. But you will perceive from the information contained in the papers which I shall direct to be laid before you (comprehending a communication from the Commonwealth of Virginia) that we ought to be prepared to afford protection to those parts of the Union; and if necessary to punish aggressors.

The interests of the United States requires that our intercourse with other nations should be facilitated, by such provisions as will enable me to fulfill my duty in that respect, in the manner which circumstances may render most conducive to the public good: And to this end that the compensations to be made to the persons who may be employed, should according to the nature of their appointments, be defined by law; and a competent fund designated for defraying the expenses incident to the conduct of our foreign affairs.

Various considerations also render it expedient, that the terms on which foreigners may be admitted to the rights of Citizens should be speedily ascertained by a uniform rule of naturalization.

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[88] Ford, Sparks, and Richardson print this word as "consideration."

Uniformity in the Currency, Weights and Measures of the United States is an object of great importance, and will I am persuaded be duly attended to.

The advancement of Agriculture, Commerce and Manufactures by all proper means, will not I trust need recommendation. But I cannot forbear intimating to you the expediency of giving effectual encouragement as well to the introduction of new and useful inventions from abroad, as to the exertions of skill and genius in producing them at home; and of facilitating the intercourse between the distant parts of our Country by a due attention to the Post-Office and Post-Roads.

Nor am I less persuaded, that you will agree with me in opinion, that there is nothing which can better deserve your patronage than the promotion of Science and Literature. Knowledge is in every country the surest basis of public happiness. In one in which the measures of Government receive their impression so immediately from the sense of the Community as in ours it is proportionably essential. To the security of a free Constitution it contributes in various ways: By convincing those who are intrusted with the public administration, that every valuable end of Government is best answered by the enlightened confidence of the people: and by teaching the people themselves to know and to value their own rights; to discern and provide against invasions of them; to distinguish between oppression and the necessary exercise of lawful authority; between burthens proceeding from a disregard to their convenience and those resulting from the inevitable exigencies of Society; to discriminate the spirit of Liberty from that of licentiousness, cherishing the first, avoiding the last, and uniting a speedy, but temperate vigilance against encroachments, with an inviolable respect to the Laws.

Whether this desirable object will be the best promoted by affording aids to seminaries of learning already established, by the institution of a national University, or by any other expedients, will be well worthy of a place in the deliberations of the Legislature.[89]

To THE SENATE AND THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

January 8, 1790.

Gentlemen of the Senate and House of Representatives: I have directed the proper Officers to lay before you respectively such papers and estimates as regard the affairs, particularly recommended to your consideration and necessary to convey to you that information of the state of the Union, which it is my duty to afford.

The welfare of our Country is the great object to which our Cares and efforts ought to be directed. And I shall derive great satisfaction from a co-operation with you, in the pleasing though arduous task of ensuring to our fellow-citizens the blessings which they have a right to expect from a free, efficient and equal Government.[89]

To THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

[January 8, 1790.]

Gentlemen of the House of Representatives: I saw with peculiar pleasure, at the close of the last Session the resolution entered into by you, expressive of your opinion, that an adequate provision for the support of the public credit is a matter

[89] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers.*

On January 11 Washington very briefly acknowledged an address from the Senate in response to this speech. On January 12 he likewise acknowledged a similar address from the House. Both of these replies are recorded in the "Letter Book" in the *Washington Papers.*

of high importance to the national honor and prosperity. In this sentiment I entirely concur. And to a perfect confidence in your best endeavors to devise such a provision as will be truly consistent with the end, I add an equal reliance on the chearful co-operation of the other branch of the Legislature. It would be superfluous to specify inducements to a measure in which the Character and permanent interests of the United States are so obviously and so deeply concerned; and which has received so explicit a sanction from your declaration.[90]

To CATHERINE MACAULAY GRAHAM

New York, January 9, 1790.

Madam: Your obliging letter, dated in October last, has been received; and, as I do not know when I shall have more leisure than at present to throw together a few observations in return for yours, I take up my Pen to do it by this early occasion.

In the first place I thank you for your congratulatory sentiments on the event which has placed me at the head of the American Government; as well as for the indulgent partiality, which it is to be feared, however, may have warped your judgment too much in my favor. But you do me no more than justice in supposing that, if I had been permitted to indulge my first and fondest wish, I should have remained in a private Station. Although neither the present age or Posterity may possibly give me full credit for the feelings which I have experienced on the subject; yet I have a consciousness, that nothing short of an absolute conviction of duty could ever have brought

[90] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

On January 8 David Humphreys, by command of the President, forwarded a letter from General Forman, "giving an account of the detection of forgeries on the State Notes of N. York, an enclosing several of the Counterfeits Certificates." Washington desired Jay's opinion "relative to the measures adopted in consequence of this Communication." Humphrey's letter is recorded in the "Letter Book" in the *Washington Papers*.

me upon the scenes of public life again. The establishment of our new Government seemed to be the last great experiment for promoting human happiness by reasonable compact in civil Society. It was to be, in the first instance, in a considerable degree a government of accommodation as well as a government of Laws. Much was to be done by *prudence,* much by *conciliation,* much by *firmness.* Few who are not philosophical spectators can realize the difficult and delicate part which a man in my situation had to act. All see, and most admire, the glare which hovers round the external trappings of elevated office. To me there is nothing in it, beyond the lustre which may be reflected from its connection with a power of promoting human felicity. In our progress towards political happiness my station is new; and, if I may use the expression, I walk on untrodden ground. There is scarcely any part of my conduct wch. may not hereafter be drawn into precedent. Under such a view of the duties inherent to my arduous office, I could not but feel a diffidence in myself on the one hand; and an anxiety for the Community that every new arrangement should be made in the best possible manner on the other. If after all my humble but faithful endeavours to advance the felicity of my Country and mankind, I may indulge a hope that my labours have not been altogether without success, it will be the only real compensation I can receive in the closing of life.

On the actual situation of this Country under its new Government I will, in the next place, make a few remarks. That the Government, though not absolutely perfect, is one of the best in the world, I have little doubt. I always believed that an unequivocally free and equal Representation of the People in the Legislature, together with an efficient and responsable Executive, were the great Pillars on which the preservation of American Freedom must depend. It was indeed next to a

Miracle that there should have been so much unanimity, in points of such importance, among such a number of Citizens, so widely scattered, and so different in their habits in many respects as the Americans were. Nor are the growing unanimity and encreasing goodwill of the Citizens to the Government less remarkable than favorable circumstances. So far as we have gone with the new Government (and it is completely organized and in operation) we have had greater reason than the most sanguine could expect to be satisfied with its success.

Perhaps a number of accidental circumstances have concurred with the real effects of the Government to make the People uncommonly well pleased with their situation and prospects. The harvests of wheat have been remarkably good, the demand for that article from abroad is great, the encrease of Commerce is visible in every Port, and the number of new manufactures introduced in one year is astonishing. I have lately made a tour through the Eastern States. I found the country, in a great degree, recovered from the ravages of War, the Towns flourishing, and the People delighted with a government instituted by themselves and for their own good. The same facts I have also reason to believe, from good authority, exist in the Southern States. By what I have just observed, I think you will be persuaded that the ill-boding Politicians who prognosticated that America would never enjoy any fruits from her Independence, and that she would be obliged to have recourse to a foreign Power for protection, have at least been mistaken.

I shall sincerely rejoice to see that the American Revolution has been productive of happy consequences on both sides of the Atlantic. The renovation of the French Constitution is indeed one of the most wonderful events in the history of mankind; and the agency of the Marquis de la Fayette in a high degree

honorable to his character. My greatest fear has been, that the nation would not be sufficiently cool and moderate in making arrangements for the security of that liberty, of which it seems to be fully possessed.

Mr. Warville, the French Gentleman you mention, has been in America and at Mount Vernon; but has returned sometime since to France.

Mrs. Washington is well and desires her compliments may be presented to you. We wish the happiness of your fireside, as we also long to enjoy that of our own at Mount Vernon. Our wishes, you know, were limited; and I think that our plans of living will now be deemed reasonable by the considerate part of our species. Her wishes coincide with my own as to simplicity of dress, and everything which can tend to support propriety of character without partaking of the follies of luxury and ostentation. I am, etc.[91]

To JOHN ELY[92]

New York, January 9, 1790.

Sir: I have perused your letter to me dated the 25 of last month, together with the several Papers referred to therein.

Upon considering the state in which your Application to Congress rested at the conclusion of the former Government, and your intention of renewing it under the present; it occurs to me that it would not be proper for me to express any opinion on the merits of your individual case. In general I may say, without impropriety, that I am not ignorant of your services in your Country's cause; and that it is always my wish that justice should take place. I am etc.[93]

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[91] From the printed text in *Notes and Queries* (London: 1878), vol. 9, p. 421.
[92] Of Connecticut.
[93] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

To CHARLES THOMSON

New York, January 10, 1790.

Sir: I have been duly favored with your letter of the 25th of December, and its enclosures.[94]

I thank you for the information which is given respecting the person whom you had recommended to me for notice. His conduct has been such as justly to exclude him from any place of confidence or trust; and it appears, from the copies of his letters which you have transmitted to me, that he is severely punished by his own reflections.

I return, with sincerity, the compliments of the season to yourself and Mrs. Thomson, in which I am joined by Mrs. Washington; and I heartily rejoice with you in the accession of North Carolina to the Government of the Union. With sentiments of sincere regard, I am etc.[95]

*To JAMES MADISON

Sunday, 7 'Oclock A M. [January 10, 1790]

Mr. Madison having been so obliging as to draw the answer to the Address of the House of Representatives; GW. would thank him for doing the same to that of the Senate. If he receives it any time this day or tomorrow morning it will be sufficient.[96]

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[94] Not now found in the *Washington Papers.*

[95] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers.*

[96] Indorsed by Madison: "without date (perhaps 1789)" and, later, "19 Oct. 91;" but Sunday, Jan. 10, 1790, more closely approximates the probable date, with application to the merely formal answers to the addresses of the Senate of January 11 and of the House of January 12.

On January 10 Washington acknowledged, in a brief note to Noah Webster, the gift of his "Dissertations on the English Language." The original of this letter is in the New York Public Library.

To THE SENATE

United States, January 11, 1790.

Gentlemen of the Senate: Having advised with you upon the terms of a treaty to be offered to the Creek Nation of Indians, I think it proper you should be informed of the result of that business previous to its coming before you in your legislative capacity.

I have therefore directed the Secretary for the department of War, to lay before you my instructions to the Commissioners, and their report in consequence thereof.

The apparently critical state of the Southern frontier will render it expedient for me to communicate to both Houses of Congress, with other papers, the whole of the transactions relative to the Creeks, in order that they may be enabled to form a judgment of the measures which the case may require.[97]

To GOVERNOR CHARLES PINCKNEY

(Private)

New York, January 11, 1790.

Dear Sir: Altho' it is not in my power to enter so fully as I could wish into an investigation of the interesting subjects discussed in your letter of the 14th[98] of last month; yet I would not deny myself the satisfaction of acknowledging the receipt of it, and of expressing my obligations for the sentiments, which your Excellency has been pleased to suggest.

A new Monarch having succeeded to the Throne of Spain,[99] it remains to be ascertained how far his Court may insist upon

[97] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.
[98] In the *Washington Papers*.
[99] Charles IV, in December, 1788.

those exclusive claims to the navigation of the Mississipi, which have hitherto prevented the conclusion of a Treaty between the United States and that Nation. Mr. Gardoqui went to Spain some time ago: nor have we received any thing official from thence since his departure. A private Gentleman, (a man of good intelligence) lately returned from Spain to America, mentions a report was believed when he sailed, that the Americans of the United States had formed a successful expedition against the spanish territory in their neighborhood; and that the report had occasioned great sensations in the Kingdom. Whatever may be the future policy of that Nation, I am disposed to become as well acquainted with the merits of the subjects which have been agitated between them and us since the war, as my other duties and avocations will admit. For this reason in particular, I thank your Excellency for your confidential communication.

As to the subject of Indian affairs, I can only say in general, that your sentiments on the expediency of entering into Treaties with those Nations, upon just terms, perfectly co-incide with my own. From the official report of the late Commissioners for treating with the Creeks, &c. it seems almost certain, that the connection of Mr. McGillivray with Spain was the principal cause for preventing the conclusion of the proposed Treaty. Their report (which is this day to be delivered by the Secretary at War to the Senate) will indicate fully the progress and issue of that business. And the Executive will probably be possessed of such documents as may be useful in taking ulterior measures. For my own part, I am entirely persuaded, that the present general Government will endeavor to lay the foundation for its proceedings in national justice, faith and honor. But should the Government, after having attempted in vain every reasonable pacific measure, be obliged to have

recourse to arms for the defence of its Citizens, I am also of opinion, that sound policy and good œconomy will point to a prompt and decisive effort, rather than to defensive and lingering operations.

Should your Excellency, after the expiration of your Office, prosecute your proposed voyage to France, you will find, I presume, most extraordinary events have taken place in that Kingdom. Altho' all their political arrangements are not yet settled; I hope they will be happily, before the period to which you allude.

My late tour through the eastern States has been of salutary consequence in confirming my health. I have likewise had an opportunity of seeing how far the Country is recovered from the ravages of war, and how well the Inhabitants are disposed to support the General Government.

Not being master of my own time, nor accustomed to make personal engagements, which from contingency might become impracticable I can only say in regard to the last paragraph of your letter, that nothing would give me greater pleasure than to have it in my power to visit all the Southern States. With sentiments of the highest respect etc.[1]

To REVEREND JOHN C. KUNZE[2]

New York, January 12, 1790.

Sir: The subject of your letter of the 4th instant enclosing one of the same date from Mr. Brown to you, appears to be of a nature requiring the operation of legislative power rather than any agency of mine at present. For however desirous I might be to promote the wishes of Mr. Brown, either from a view to benefit the public by attaching those Indians which he mentions

[1] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.
[2] Of New York.

to the United States, or to advance their temporal or spiritual good by his services among them, I could not with propriety give encouragement to his plan without the previous interference of the Legislature of the Union.

I can, therefore, only observe, that the opinion of those Gentlemen in Congress with whom you may be acquainted will enable you to judge of the proper means by which this business might be forwarded. I am etc.[3]

To THE SENATE AND THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

United States, January 12, 1790.

Gentlemen of the Senate and House of Representatives: I lay before you a statement of the south-western frontiers, and of the Indian departments which have been submitted to me, by the Secretary for the department of War.

I conceive that an unreserved but *confidential* communication of all papers relative to the recent negociations, with some of the southern tribes of Indians is indispensibly requisite for the information of Congress. I am persuaded that they will effectually prevent either transcripts or publications of all such circumstances as might be injurious to the public interests.[3]

To SIR EDWARD NEWENHAM

New York, January 15, 1790.

Dear Sir: I have now before me your several letters of the 23 of February, 24 of July, 14 of August, and 10 of October 1789, the last of which but lately reached my hands.

I should feel myself guilty of a great impropriety in suffering your letters to lay so long without an acknowledgement, was I

[3] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

not conscious that the new and busy scenes in which I have been engaged for these 9 or 10 months past, by engrossing my whole attention, would excuse me in your mind from any apparent neglect, and I trust that the same cause will apologise for my not entering at this time, into a particular response to the matters contained in your several letters.

I cannot however avoid observing that it must afford a most pleasing satisfaction to the friends of the human race to view the enlightened spirit of liberty which seems to have pervaded a great part of your European world, and, at the sametime the philanthropic mind cannot but feel anxious for the issue of those novel and patriotic exertions.

The government of the United States seems now to want very little more than the sanction of time to give it all that stability which can be expected from any human fabrie. The people meet it with as much fondness as its most sanguine friends could anticipate, because they are convinced that it is founded in principles of national happiness, and the recent accession of the State of North Carolina (which has ratified the Constitution of the United States with marks of peculiar good will) leaves the little State of Rhode Island by herself, how long she will be able to stand in that forlorn condition must depend upon the duration of that infatuation and evil policy of which she appears to have been guided.

I was pleased to hear of Mrs. Montgomery's safe arrival, and the satisfaction which she enjoyed in her visit to Ireland. Should she be in your neighbourhood when this letter gets to your hands, you will be good enough to present the best compliments of Mrs. Washington and myself to her, and likewise make the same acceptable to Lady Newenham. With very great regard etc.

P. S. In answer to your quere, why has Mr. Thomson resigned? I reply. That it was his earnest wish to retire from the bustle of public life, and enjoy the evening of his days in domestic tranquillity, after having faithfully served his country for a series of years in an important station.

The journals of Congress, which you request, will accompany this.[4]

To MARQUIS DE BELLEGARDE[5]

New York, January 15, 1790.

Sir: I have received your letter dated the 18th of September 1789; and in reply to it, must inform you, that so far from living upon terms of intimacy and friendship with the late General Oglethorpe,[6] (as it appears by your letter you have understood that I did) I never was so happy as to have any personal acquaintance with that Gentleman, nor any other knowledge of him than from his general character. The distance of our places of residence from each other, which is nearly 1000 Miles, and the different periods in which we have lived are circumstances which preclude the probability of our having been upon an intimate footing.

I have, however, directed enquiries to be made among the Gentlemen from the State of Georgia, who are now attending Congress in this place, respecting the affairs of the late General Oglethorpe, and am informed by them, that they know of no lands belonging to him. One of the Gentlemen, a Senator from the State of Georgia, mentions his having been written to some time since, by Mr. Jefferson our Minister at the Court of Versailles, upon the same subject, and in consequence thereof he

[4] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.
[5] Of Holland.
[6] James Edward Oglethorpe.

made every enquiry in his power relative to the matter; but there were no lands in Georgia belonging to General Oglethorpe; and he further adds, that if there had been property of that Gentleman's in Georgia in the time of the late War with Great Britain, so far from its having been confiscated, it would have met with singular protection, in consequence of the high estimation in which the character of Genl. Oglethorpe stood in that State. I should have been happy, Sir, to have it in my power to give you more pleasing information upon this subject. I am &c.[7]

To THOMAS HARTLEY

New York, January 16, 1790.

Dear Sir: The letter of Mr. Zantzinger[8] which you put into my hands last night, enclosing the list of Mares,[9] which had been offered to him and Mr. Miller[10] for sale, I have read and considered, and feel myself under very great obligations to those Gentlemen, and to you, Sir, for the disinterested trouble you have already taken, and are willing to continue to procure for me the number that I want.

It was not my intention to give this trouble to any one without making compensation, and, for that reason I placed the business upon the restrictive footing of my former letter. But, as these Gentlemen, are so obliging as to undertake this business merely to serve me (for which, through you, I beg to offer my acknowledgements) it would not only be uncivil, but unjust to expect they should incur any expence or run any risque

[7] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

[8] Paul Zantzinger.

[9] A list of the mares purchased and forwarded to Mount Vernon by Zantzinger and Adam Reigart is in the *Washington Papers* under date of Feb. 12, 1790. Their total cost was £317:17:6.

[10] John Miller.

in the prosecution of it on my account. I would therefore leave it to them to act for me as they would for themselves in the purchase of 17 mares which, with the three you conditionally contracted for will complete my object; but I must still require that the average price of the above 17 may not exceed £25 or £26 Pennsylvania currency. That all such as may be under 15 hands (by standard measure) shall not exceed 4 years old next spring, and, in this case, none may be under 14½ hands high. That none may at any rate exceed six years old and be perfectly sound; the loss of an eye, if not proceeding from a mad or restive disposition I should not regard, as the defect will no doubt be considered in the price. That they shall be sent to Mount Vernon, at my expence, under the conduct of a careful man, with a descriptive list not only of the *exact* height and colour but of the minutest marks, natural and accidental, and a duplicate thereof to me. This may be useful on many accounts, and without it, a man not *very* scrupulous might exchange the best of them for others of inferior quality answering a *general* description. Receiving them at Mount Vernon any time in the month of February will answer *my* purposes fully, but I should be unwilling to incur the expence of keeping them until that time at the house of the Sellers. It may rest therefore with Colonel Miller and Mr. Zantzinger whether they will send the whole to Mount Vernon at one or at two trips as they may be purchased.

I will lodge in Colo. Biddle's hands £400[11] subject to the orders of the above Gentlemen, and whatever this may fall short of the purchase shall be paid as soon as it is made known to your etc.[12]

[11] Lear wrote to Clement Biddle (January 17) that the President had directed the payment for these mares to pass through Biddle's hands. "The amount will be about £400 Pennsylvania Currency which sum I shall endeavour so to accommodate with the Bank in Philadelphia. If this cannot be done, I shall transmit you bills to that amount, when I write further upon the subject." Lear's letter is recorded in the "Letter Book" in the *Washington Papers*.

[12] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

To BURGES BALL

New York, January 18, 1790.

Dear Sir: Your letter of the 26 of December came duly to hand, but occurrences of various kinds have prevented an acknowledgement of it till this time.

I am not at all uneasy at the delay, or impatient for the settlement of the estate accounts of my deceased Mother; I am persuaded they will be rendered in due time, and to the satisfaction of all concerned. To pay all she owed is my first wish, to render unto every one their due is the next. The method which has been taken to dispose of the effects is, I presume, the best, and I am satisfied therewith. That none of the families of Negroes have been parted (where it could be avoided) is very agreeable to me.

I am well pleased that Mr. Carter is inclined to take possession of my lots in Fredericksburg. We shall not disagree about the price, or in the mode of payment; of which be so good as to inform him.

I hope you have got through your difficulties on account of your surety-ship for Major Willis, and without loss. When you engaged in this business you neglected the advice of the Wise man, than which no better I believe is to be found in his whole book, or among all his sayings ,'Beware of surety-ship." Offer my love and good wishes to Fanny and the family, accept the same yourself and those of Mrs. Washington. I am etc.[13]

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[13] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers.*

On January 20, in reply to an address from the General Assembly of Maryland, Washington wrote: "Your mention of the place from whence you address me awakens a succession of uncommon reflections. In noticing the eventful period, since the resignation of my military command: I trace, with infinite gratitude, the agency of a Providence, which induced the People of America to substitute in place of an inadequate confederacy, a general Government, eminently calculated to secure the safety

To DAVID FORMAN

New York, January 21, 1790.

Sir: Acknowledging the receipt of your letters of the 3d. and 18th instant,[14] I desire to assure you that I have not been inattentive to your communications.

In order that the most prudential steps might be taken on the subject, to which your letters related, they were laid before the Chief Justice of the United States, who thought that a reference of them to the Executive of this State was the most adviseable measure, and the accompanying letter, from Governor Clinton to you, expresses his opinions of what ought to be done. The Governor thinks that the papers which were transmitted by you, will be necessary in the further prosecution of this matter, and he has, therefore, retained them.

This mark of your attention to public justice receives my best thanks. I am etc.[15]

*To THOMAS JEFFERSON

New York, January 21, 1790.

Dear Sir: I had the pleasure to receive duly your letter dated the 15th. of Decr. last; but I thought proper to delay answering or mentioning the contents of it, until after the arrival of Mr. Madison, who I understood had been with you. He arrived yesterday, and I now take the earliest opportunity of mentioning to you the result of my reflections; and the expediency of

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and welfare of their Country. . . . When I reflect on the critical situation to which this Country has been more than once reduced, I feel a kind of exultation in the character of my Countrymen, who have rescued it from threatened ruin by their virtue, fortitude, intelligence and unanimity."

[14] On the subject of counterfeits of New York certificates.

[15] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

your deciding, at as early a period as may consist with your convenience, on the important subject before you.

Previous to any remarks on the nature of the Office to which you have been recently appointed, I will premise, that I feel such delicacy and embarrassment in consequence of the footing on which you have placed your final determination, as to make it necessary for me to recur to the first ground on which I rested the matter. In confidence, therefore, I will tell you plainly that I wish not to oppose your inclinations; and that, after you shall have been made a little farther acquainted with the light in which I view the Office of Secretary of State, it must be at your option to determine relative to your acceptance of it, or continuance in your Office abroad.

I consider the successful Administration of the general Government as an object of almost infinite consequence to the present and future happiness of the Citizens of the United States. I consider the Office of Secretary for the Department of State as *very* important on many accts: and I know of no person, who, in my judgment, could better execute the Duties of it than yourself. Its duties will probably be not quite so arduous and complicated in their execution as you might have been led at the first moment to imagine. At least, it was the opinion of Congress, that, after the division of all the business of a domestic nature between the Departments of the Treasury, War and State that those wch. would be comprehended in the latter might be performed by the same Person, who should have the charge of conducting the Department of foreign Affairs. The experiment was to be made; and if it shall be found that the fact is different, I have little doubt that a farther arrangement or division of the business in the Office of the Department of State will be made, in such manner as to enable it to be performed, under the super-

intendance of one man, with facility to himself, as well as with advantage and satisfaction to the Public. These observations, however, you will be pleased to remark are merely matters of opinion. But, in order that you may be the better prepared to make your ultimate decision on good grounds, I think it necessary to add one fact, which is this, so far as I have been able to obtain information from all quarters, your late appointment has given very extensive and very great satisfaction to the Public. My original opinion and wish may be collected from my nomination.

As to what you mention in the latter part of your letter, I can only observe, I do not know that any alteration is likely to take place in the Commission from the United States to the Court of France. The necessary arrangements with regard to our intercourse with Foreign Nations have never yet been taken up on a great scale by the Government: because the Department which comprehended Affairs of that nature has never been properly organized, so as to bring the business well and systematically before the Executive. If you shd. finally determine to take upon yourself the duties of the Department of State, it would be highly requisite for you to come on immediately, as many things are required to be done while Congress is in Session rather than at any other time; and as, in that case, your presence might doubtless be much better dispensed with after a little time than at the present moment. Or, in all events, it will be essential that I should be informed of your conclusive option, so that, if you return to France, another Person may be, at as early a day as possible, nominated to fill the Department of State.[16] With sentiments of the highest regard etc.[17]

[16] A press copy of Jefferson's letter of February 14, from Monticello, accepting the position of Secretary of State, is in the *Jefferson Papers*. On March 22 he entered upon the duties of that office.

[17] From the *Jefferson Papers* in the Library of Congress.

To THE SENATE AND THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

United States, January 21, 1790.

Gentlemen of the Senate and House of Representatives: The Secretary for the department of War has submitted to me certain principles to serve as a plan for the general arrangement of the Militia of the United States.[18]

Conceiving the subject to be of the highest importance to the welfare of our country, and liable to be placed in various points of view, I have directed him to lay the plan before Congress, for their information, in order that they may make such use thereof as they shall judge proper.[19]

[18] The plan for the organization of the militia is printed in full in the *American State Papers*.

[19] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

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